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CHRIST AND OTHER MASTERS.

CHRIST AND OTHER MASTERS:

AN HISTORICAL INQUIRY

INTO SOME OF

THE CHIEF PARALLELISMS AND CONTRASTS BETWEEN CHRISTIANITY

AND THE

RELIGIOUS SYSTEMS OF THE ANCIENT WORLD.

With special reference to prevailing Difficulties and Objections.

BY

CHARLES HARDWICK, M.A.

LATE ARCHDEACON OF ELY, AND CHRISTIAN ADVOCATE IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.

SECOND EDITION.

VOL. I.

"Are not Abana and Pharpar, rivers of Damascus, better than all the waters of Israel? May I not wash in them and be clean? So he turned, and went away in a rage."—2 KINGS v. 12.

London and Cambridge.

MACMILLAN AND CO.

1863.

'I have laid it down as an invariable maxim constantly to follow historical tradition, and to hold fast by that clue, even when many things, in the testimony and declarations of tradition, appear strange and almost inexplicable, or at least enigmatical; for so soon as in the investigation of ancient history we let slip that thread of Ariadne, we can find no outlet from the labyrinth of fanciful theories, and the chaos of clashing opinions.'—F. von Schlegel, *Phil. of Hist.* p. 81, Lond. 1847.

PREFATORY MEMOIR TO SECOND EDITION.

THE present work contains the four Essays published by the late Archdeacon Hardwick in the years in which he held the office of 'Christian Advocate' in the University of Cambridge. It is simply a reprint of the first edition, with the introduction of a few notes from the author's manuscript.

The central point, around which his whole argument is constructed, is the exhibition of the real position and relation of Christianity in the presence of the other religions, which have had, and still have, the allegiance of so great a part of mankind. It was his intention, in a concluding volume, to discuss these religions as one great whole, and to determine the place of the present argument among our Christian defences and evidences; and to analyse more minutely the causes which rendered heathen systems so ineffective, and which led in so many instances to their rapid deterioration. He felt, however, that this was too much to undertake in one year. His publication therefore for the fifth and concluding year of his office as the last 'Christian Advocate' was intended to be a discussion of the genuineness of the Second Epistle of St. Peter, which had formed the subject of a Latin Thesis composed for his B.D. degree; and a few pages of this treatise was in type,

when it, and the conclusion of the present elaborate work, and whatever else was occupying his ever-active mind, was cut short by a death regretted not only by a circle of private friends, but by all admirers of a sound and reasonable churchmanship.

To those who were acquainted with the Author in the University, his character of patient labour must be well known. To reckon simply the years, from 1845, when he was elected to a Fellowship, to the year of his death, 1859, and to compare this period with the number of books written and edited in the interval, will satisfy any one that there could have been but few idle days. But a more intimate acquaintance with his early life causes the greater wonder at the learning which produced these works. A slip of paper written during his undergraduateship, gives the particulars of his previous educational course, which would be hardly credited, if the story rested upon accounts picked up from hearsay evidence.

Charles Hardwick was born September 22, 1821, at Slingsby, in the North Riding of Yorkshire. He received the first rudiments of English, writing and arithmetic, under Mr. Chapman, the schoolmaster in his native village, who survived his pupil by a few weeks. He was taught also the Latin Grammar by the Rev. Wm. Walker, at that time the Curate, and who afterwards held the Rectory of Slingsby. At the age of twelve, in 1833, he was sent to a school at Malton, kept by Mr. P. Corcoran, a Socinian minister, who is described as being a clever man. Here he began Greek: he did not, however, remain long under his teaching, but was sent to the Grammar School at Sheffield, where some relatives resided. Here again he only remained for one year: weak health compelled his removal home, and kept him there for six or eight months —*studying*: entering upon a course of self-education: preparing to obtain learning in the only way that seemed open to him,

by assisting in teaching others. At the age of fifteen he was taken by Mr. Irving, on the recommendation of his friend Mr. Walker, as pupil and assistant in the Thornton Grammar School near Pickering; and he was there for eighteen months.

In the summer of 1838, while not yet seventeen, he removed to the academy at Malton, where he was assistant classical tutor under Mr. Marshall. Here he remained for eighteen months. While in this situation, he delivered two lectures at the Mechanics' Institute; and some of his youthful essays in Poetry were published in the Poet's Corner of the *York Courant.* A longer specimen of his talents in this department, in the shape of a sacred drama, was sent to Lord Carlisle through Mr. Walker, his lordship's chaplain; and this brought the youth a sovereign, and a word of encouragement. He continued to write poetry—sonnets and longer pieces—in his next situation; when he was engaged as assistant by the Rev. H. Barlow, who took pupils at Shirland Rectory, in Derbyshire. Here he enjoyed a salary of £40. a-year. But it does not appear that he was there for a full year—at all events not more than a year. He brought home a half-year's stipend, which enabled him to pay his Caution money.

In July 1840, he was entered for a sizarship at St. John's, but was unsuccessful at the examination in October. He then entered as a pensioner at Catharine Hall, and obtained a small scholarship after the College examination in the Easter Term in 1841.

The remainder of his undergraduate course is soon told. The hardworking youth was chiefly maintained by his scholarship, with helps that are obtainable in the University, and for which so steady a student could be safely recommended by Professor Corrie, the tutor of the College. He had also an exhibition (Lady Lumley's) of £15. for three years, from the Thornton

Grammar School. This fact intimates that he was at that school as a scholar; or if he united the positions of teacher and scholar, he was sufficiently recognised in the latter capacity to be considered a member of the school.

In the examination at the end of his second year (1842) he was Prizeman in Divinity, 1st in Classics, and 2nd in Mathematics. At the B.A. examination, in January 1844, he stood first Senior Optime.

Self-maintenance and self-improvement were still the rules of his working life. By the assistance of Professor Corrie, he soon became tutor in the family of Sir Joseph Radcliffe, then residing at Brussels. Here he used the opportunities open to him, and made himself master of French and German. He was unsuccessful in an examination for a Yorkshire Fellowship in the October Term of 1844: but nothing daunted, he continued his work with his pupils, and improved himself so far that he was elected in 1845.

He was now free to choose his own line of reading. His Fellowship giving him a title for orders, he was ordained Deacon in 1846, and Priest in 1847, in which year he proceeded to his M.A. degree.

In September, 1846, he received the thanks of the parishioners of All Saints, Cambridge, for duty done during the absence of the Vicar, the Rev. George Maddison. During this year, 1846, he was engaged, under Professor Corrie, upon the new edition of Sir Roger Twysden's *Historical Vindication of the Church of England in point of Schism, as it stands separated from the Roman, and was reformed* 1° *Elizabeth;* and found the additional matter introduced into this edition, in Twysden's autograph, in an interleaved copy in the Library of the British Museum. As a Supplement to this work, he was induced to edit Archdeacon Fullwood's *Roma Ruit, or the Pillars of Rome broken:*

Cambridge, 1847. He also completed, for the University Press, the edition of the Saxon and Northumbrian versions of St. Matthew's Gospel (1848), commenced by the late Mr. John M. Kemble.

His next work was an edition, for the Percy Society, of *A Poem on the Times of Edward II.* (1849), followed by an Anglo-Saxon *Passion of St. George* (1850): undertaken while engaged on the Catalogue of MSS. in the Cambridge University Library, of which Mr. Hardwick was appointed to be editor in chief, and to which he contributed the descriptions of the volumes of Anglo-Saxon, Anglo-Norman, and Early English literature. In 1849, also, he read before the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, *An Historical Enquiry touching St. Catharine of Alexandria;* which was printed with the addition of a *Semi-Saxon Legend*, and Glossary: Cambridge, 1849.

In 1850, he assisted in preparing an edition of the Book of Homilies for the University Press, under the supervision of Professor Corrie, who fairly 'thanks his friend and former pupil for verifying a large proportion of the quotations from Scripture and ecclesiastical writers, and for his valuable aid in correcting the press and supplying an index.'

In December of this year, he preached a course of sermons at Great St. Mary's, on the Connection of the Old and New Testaments.

In March of the year 1851, he was appointed by the Bishop of London (C. J. Blomfield) to be the Cambridge preacher at the Chapel Royal, Whitehall. He had at this time just completed his *History of the Articles of Religion.* An American edition of this work, of course without the author's sanction, was printed at Philadelphia in 1852.

In March 1853, at the conclusion of his Preachership at Whitehall, he became Professor of Divinity in Queens' College,

Birmingham, an office, however, which he held only for a few months. Church History was occupying his attention. He printed a selection from his Whitehall sermons, under the title of *Twenty Sermons for Town Congregations;* and also the *History of the Christian Church during the Middle Ages.*

In 1855 he was appointed Lecturer in Divinity in King's College, Cambridge; and Christian Advocate, which office caused the composition of the Ist part of the present work. In 1856 he was elected a member of the Council of the Senate, and re-elected in 1858. Early in 1856 he published the 2nd volume of his *History of the Christian Church,* embracing the *Reformation Period;* and before the end of the year Part II. of this work. The IIIrd Part in 1857. In 1858, he edited, in the Series of Chronicles and Memorials, &c., *Historia Monasterii S. Augustini Cantuariensis,* and published Part IV. of *Christ and other Masters.*

In 1859 he carried through the press a second edition of the *History of the Articles,* much of the work being rewritten.

No notice is taken in this survey of articles contributed to Reviews, or smaller papers read before the Antiquarian Society. Apart also from the works edited by Mr. Hardwick, which involved an amount of labour which a conscientious editor only can appreciate, the original works—the *History of the Articles*—the two volumes of *Church History*—and the four Parts of *Christ and other Masters*—have made him a name among the writers of the English Church, which will not soon be forgotten.

FRANCIS PROCTER.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

MANY of the subjects I am here attempting to discuss have, in one shape or other, occupied the thoughts of previous writers, both at home and on the continent. To some of their productions, as the references annexed will testify, the present work has been indebted for valuable suggestions: and even where I am not conscious of appropriating the materials, or adopting the results of others, it can hardly be expected that my observations are always original, or my researches independent. The only recent treatise which professes to grapple with exactly the same class of difficulties, is a volume published in 1848, by Mr. F. D. Maurice, with the title *The Religions of the World, and their relations to Christianity.* Like other writings of that gifted author, it has naturally attracted a large circle of admirers, offering as it does some very choice reflections on the spirit that pervaded the religious systems of antiquity, Muhammedanism included. Still it seems

to me, at least, that Mr. Maurice's treatment of the subject would have proved far more successful, had his method been more rigorously historical. He rather helps us to philosophize on what may possibly have been the attributes of those religions, as viewed by the more elevated minds of heathendom, than to determine the precise complexion of the popular belief, and its true relation to the doctrines of the Gospel. I feel, moreover, that the growth and permanence of such systems are always traceable quite as much to their accordance with the lower and depraved tastes of humanity, as to supernatural influences exerted on their constitution by the ever-present Logos, or to fragments of primeval truth they are supposed to have retained.

The work itself will shew the animus with which objections have been met and answered. I hope that no assailant of Revealed Religion, with whom it is my duty to contend, will ever find his arguments misrepresented: and if in any case I manifest what seems to him a needless warmth of feeling, my apology must be the strong conviction which I entertain as to the sacredness of Christianity, and the exceeding blindness of those persons, who, having once embraced it, turn away from all its central doctrines with irreverence, coldness, or contempt. 'A politic man,' observes Lord

Bacon,[1] 'may write from his brain, without touch and sense of his heart, as in a speculation that appertaineth not unto him; but a feeling Christian will express in his words a character of zeal or love. The latter of which, as I could wish rather embraced, being more proper for these times, yet is the former warranted also by great examples.'

One word of comment on the startling verdict of the Royal Commissioners[2] with reference to the office which it is my privilege to fill. 'Objections,' they remark, 'have justly been made both to the name and to the office of Christian Advocate: for if the Christian religion requires defence, such defence should be a spontaneous act, not a hired service.'

This criticism, I would submit, is no less adverse to all kinds of religious endowments. Every one who enters into holy orders does so with the understanding that he has been called to preach, expound, and advocate, a definite system of belief; and every one who afterwards accepts ecclesiastical preferment, is converted by that step into a 'hired' defender of his principles. In what respect foundations like those of Hulse, Boyle, and Bampton, are peculiarly obnoxious to the charge of fostering a sordid spirit in the persons

[1] *Of Church Controversies*, Works, III. 135, Lond. 1765.

[2] *Report of the Commissioners for the University of Cambridge*, p. 69.

who have been entrusted with the functions they prescribe, it is not easy to determine. But while urging this, I would by no means be understood to argue, that such endowments have been uniformly applied in the best manner possible.

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PART I.

INTRODUCTION.

INTRODUCTION.

CHAPTER I.

On the Religious Tendencies of the Present Age.

'Αναπέμπει ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ ἐνθέως (ὡς λέγει) ποιητὰς καὶ σοφοὺς καὶ φιλοσόφους.—Origen, *contra Celsum*, Lib. VII. p. 359 (ed. Spencer).

Periodic agitations in the moral world.

THERE is no more striking aspect in the history of religion than the correspondencies which it from time to time exhibits in remote and disconnected quarters of the world. The scholar who investigates the laws of thought in almost any period, not confining his inquiries to a single people or one group of cognate tribes, is sure to be impressed with a belief that mighty and mysterious agencies do verily exist in the recesses of our spiritual nature, and that HE who regulates their action so as to produce phenomena which men are equally unable to create or to interpret, is not human but Divine.

Conjunctures of this kind will often furnish the historian with his resting-points, or epochs. After traversing, it may be, centuries of stagnant uniformity, where all things promised to continue as they were, his thoughts are suddenly aroused by indications of a tempest, and the growth of some gigantic revolution. A new spirit, whence it came he cannot tell, begins to work at many different points below the surface of

CHAP. I. society, projecting a new order of ideas, stimulating sluggish faculties, and calling into active exercise another cycle of emotions. Many a problem which the former age abandoned as insipid, or intractable, begins to be discussed with fresh alacrity. The nature of God Himself, His attributes, and His relation to the visible world; the origin, and future destiny of man,—are all regarded as it seems through other media: and these changes, propagated simultaneously, in countries where no outward currents of communication are detected, and in countries linked together by the ties of blood, of language, and of commerce, constitute a different phase of civilisation, if they do not actually commence an era in the fortunes of the human race.

Some faint analogy may be perceived in the occasional convulsions of the physical world; for instance, in great earthquakes, such as that of 1755. The shock that buried Lisbon never ceased to vibrate till it reached the wilds of Scotland, and the vineyards of Madeira. It was felt among the islands of the Grecian Archipelago; it changed the level of the solitary lakes that sleep beneath the shadows of the Noric Alps.

Examples of these agitations: (1) Sixth century before Christ.

On turning to the annals of mankind we ascertain that few, if any, centuries have been more pregnant with events of universal moment than the sixth before the Christian era. While the members of the Hebrew commonwealth, honoured with the special custody of Holy Writ, were drooping in the grasp of Babylonic despotism, their sanctuary profaned, their liturgy suspended, and Jerusalem a heap of stones;—while they, alone in that desert of the nations, were

conversing face to face with God, and learning more and more the perfect unity and spirituality of His essence, what a change was wrought meanwhile in other regions of the earth! In Greece, for instance, we behold a young and ardent people rising day by day to eminence in arts, in letters, and in arms. The founders of Hellenic speculation had but recently commenced their struggles for the disenthralment of the human spirit. Colonies like that which had been planted at Marseilles were widening the horizon of men's thoughts, and drawing Western Europe into union with the East; while swarms of Orphic brotherhoods, the fresh creations either of Thrace, of Egypt, or of Phrygia, were diffusing in all quarters the keen thirst they felt for reconciliation with the God of heaven, and an objective revelation of His will. In China a successful movement issued in the rehabilitating of the ancient state-religion. Almost every village of Persia was the theatre of changes more decisive and profound. A consciousness of some incurable antagonism among the elements of our moral being had there prompted Zoroaster to construct his theory of two rival principles. And, last of all, the birth of Gótama Buddha in 'the world of men' was made a pretext for dethroning the religious system of his forefathers,—replacing the mythology of the Bráhman by the cold and blank negations, which, in spite of all their dreariness, are still exerting a disastrous witchery on the teeming millions of the East. CHAP. I.

(2) *Fifteenth and sixteenth centuries after Christ.*

Or glance we at a later stage of universal history, the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries after Christ; and we shall find a second cluster of these wonderful analogies. The day-star of religious liberty was

CHAP. I. rising in the north of Europe. As the multitude woke up from the protracted slumber of the Middle Ages, dreams that once bewildered them were fading from the mind. The old traditions, social, civil, and ecclesiastical, were shaken to their roots, and lost their hold in every quarter. God was meanwhile felt to be peculiarly near to us, the living God, the moral Ruler of the Universe, the righteous Lord not only of the Church collective, and of Christian commonwealths, but also of the human family at large, and every human conscience. It was mainly by the force of this conviction that the Saxon friar was impelled to lift his voice with such tremendous emphasis against the schoolmen and the Roman pontiffs, and enabled to attract so vast an audience from all parts of western Christendom. Yet, strange to say, the mighty movement which he headed found some parallels in still more distant regions. A new incarnation of the Lama of Thibet effected permanent changes in one branch of Buddhism; while Bába Nánuk of Lahore, the Luther of the Panjáb, felt himself constrained to reassert the absolute unity of God, and on the basis of that doctrine laboured to promote the fusion of the Bráhman and the Muslim in one religious confraternity.

The present aspect of political affairs.

Now persons are not wanting who affirm that agitations of our day betoken the approach, if not the actual presence, of some corresponding crisis in the history of man. I do not here allude to the momentous war, in which our statesmen have embarked,—a war, that after slaying thousands of our fellow-Christians, and disorganizing the political machinery of Europe, threatens to extend itself indefin-

itely among the Asiatic nations, and involve them also in the struggle. Subjects of this kind might fairly, it is true, engage the notice of a Christian advocate, who, conscious that the world is God's, and that His arm is ever visible in guiding or confounding human projects, had been urged to combat what is termed the 'positive' philosophy of Comte and other sociologists: for nothing could have more discredited their baseless theories, than the combinations we have recently been called to witness and the perils that beset the future course of western civilisation. But such is not my purpose now. I rather wish to ask what are the *spiritual* characteristics of the age in which we live, and whether any of the fermentations in the moral and intellectual world have given birth to tendencies peculiarly detrimental to the interests of Christian truth.

The mental activity of the age.

That our own lot has been really cast within a period of extraordinary mental vigour and activity it is impossible to deny. The closer study of the human constitution, physical and psychological; the victories achieved by modern sciences inspiring an idea that every difficulty in nature may ere long be mastered by the progress of invention; the astonishing facilities of intercourse among ourselves and other members of the family of nations; the establishment of truer canons both in verbal and historic criticism; profound researches into the structure and affinities of language; the more copious inductions of ethnology, elucidating the condition of the ancient world, and helping us to track the pre-historic wanderings of influential tribes; a broader, and, in many cases, juster view of heathendom, the character of its divini-

CHAP. I. ties and its relation to the Church of God; a quick perception of the vastness of the rational creation, and the higher value we have learned to place on individual souls,—these all have, in a greater or less degree, assisted in the modification of established theories, in opening new veins of thought, and in exciting yearnings that were scarcely ever felt by earlier ages of the world. And, as we might have easily foreseen, the great enlargement of our sphere of knowledge, and our deeper sympathies with everything that bears the impress of humanity, have been combined in certain quarters with a feverish love of speculation, and an irrepressible desire of change. First principles are now more freely called in question, sifted with a bold and microscopic criticism, and not unfrequently rejected with an utter disregard of ancient prepossessions, maxims and authorities. Here also it appears that the portentous agitation is not limited to Christian countries, nor to those of them who as distinguished for their intellectual prowess have been commonly esteemed the champions of the right of free inquiry. It has even roused the Jew himself from his supineness:[1] it has taught him to interpret and defend his sacred books as he had never done before.

In what respects peculiar.

Of course, the epoch is not absolutely singular: there have been many like it, where the human mind was similarly quickened, and gave similar indications

[1] 'Judaism, roused from her lethargy by the mighty upheavings of the age, has at length arisen and steps forth out of her long obscurity into the broad sunlight of general consciousness.' Philippsohn, *Development of the Religious Idea*, p. 3, Lond. 1855. This able work, written by a Jew, who speaks of the Old Testament almost in the style of Maurer and De Wette, is itself a sign of the times.

of the fevers that possessed it. Still the present generation has peculiar characteristics, and is often penetrated by a spirit of its own. I do not say that gifted individuals now reflect more deeply on particular questions, or have grown more clearly conscious of the difficulties by which those questions are encompassed. Who, for instance, ever looked the hardest problems of humanity more fully in the face than Origen or St. Augustine, Anselm or Aquinas? Who, so long as we continue in the present stage of our existence, will approximate more closely to the right solution of them than such men as Bacon, Butler, Pascal, and Leibnitz? But granting this, it must be also granted, first, that there has been of late a marvellous increase in the area of the field of speculation; and, secondly, that the number of speculative minds is multiplied almost indefinitely. What hosts of questions that had once been canvassed only in the narrow circle of divines and schoolmen and philosophers, are now dispersed among the mass of the community, and agitated far and near! The ever-teeming press exposes them to universal criticism; and thus attempts are making to resolve—to handle, weigh, and measure, one might say—the mysteries of God and man, of life, of death, and of eternity, alike in the saloons of opulence, the crowded halls of science, and the workshop of the rudest artisan. On every side we recognise the same determination to know more about the real ground of men's convictions, an impatience of restraint, a fearless self-assertion, and a fixed resolve to push whatever principle they may embrace to its remotest consequence, with small regard to other inferences no

CHAP. I. less legitimate, by which the former should in reason have been traversed and controlled.

Different effects of this activity on religious inquiries.

1. If our thoughts are concentrated on the single province of religion, we shall see, as might have been anticipated, that the spirit of the age has there left very deep impressions of its power. One class, indeed, of educated Englishmen have never drifted far from the positions of the previous generation. They continue to look down unmoved on all the tossings of their neighbours. Nor can theirs be termed the silence of misgiving or the self-possession of indifference; it is rather the tranquillity of deep and living faith. For in their ranks are many of the brightest luminaries both of scholarship and science,[1]—minds of a gigantic stature; minds, moreover, that are gifted with the finest critical acumen, and that never hesitate to exercise it in determining religious questions, such as in their judgment man may fairly hope to master. Subject to this limitation they are advocates of progress; and, accordingly, we hear them welcome every species of research that may contribute to the stores of sacred knowledge. They are foremost in acquiring and comparing languages, in tracing the descent of nations, and in disinterring such materials as are calculated to supply the blanks that we deplore in

First variety of modern thought.

[1] One of the highest types of this school was the late Regius Professor of Hebrew at Cambridge,—the lamented Dr. Mill, who, in the vastness of his erudition, in the grasp and clearness of his reasoning faculties, in his scientific attainments, and his unswerving orthodoxy, was more than a match for the apostles of modern scepticism and unbelief. See his *Christian Advocate's Publications*, passim. Few scholars ever knew so much, and fewer still when they have reached the utmost verge of human knowledge are animated by his reverential spirit.

'Nescire velle, quæ Magister Optimus
Docere non vult, erudita inscitia est.'

Jewish or in Christian history. On men like these, however, the effect of modern progress and discovery is to strengthen their belief in the announcements of the Bible. Whichever way they turn, its truthfulness is more completely vindicated, and their hold upon its mysteries proportionally confirmed.[1] They are most conscious, it is true, that in the kingdoms both of grace and nature, in the volume of God's works and in the volume of His word, a thousand difficulties remain which they are utterly unable to decipher; depths of thought they never hope to fathom, discords which they cannot harmonize, and elevations which they cannot climb. Such problems as the origin and growth of evil, that profound enigma into which so many others are eventually resolved; such principles of the Divine œconomy as that of sacrifice or mediation, though they recognise its perfect fitness, and embrace it on their knees,—are felt to be immeasurably above their present comprehension; yet so numerous and convergent are the testimonies which commend the doctrines of the Gospel to their inmost heart,[2] that all the arrows of the Tempter fall innocuous, blunted by the shield of

[1] 'Magis magisque mihi confirmabatur omnes versutarum calumniarum nodos, quos illi deceptores nostri adversus divinos Libros innectebant, posse dissolvi.' S. August. *Confess.*, lib. VI. c. 3. 'Titubabit autem fides, si divinarum Scripturarum vacillat auctoritas.' *De Doctr. Christ.*, lib. I. c. XXXVII.

[2] After dwelling on the importance of criteria by which to separate the true religion from the false, Leibnitz (Théodicée, *Œuvres*, II. 42, Paris, 1842) does not fear to add: 'Cependant la foi divine elle-même, quand elle est allumée dans l'âme, est quelque chose de plus qu'une opinion, et ne dépend pas des occasions ou des motifs qui l'ont fait naître: elle va au delà de l'entendement, et s'empare de la volonté et du cœur, pour nous faire agir avec chaleur et avec plaisir, comme la loi de Dieu le commande, sans qu'on ait plus besoin de penser aux raisons, ni de s'arrêter aux difficultés de raisonnement que l'esprit peut envisager.'

CHAP. I. faith. A man of this kind knows in what he has believed; and though he still sees darkly, communing with adumbrations of the truth, and not with truth itself, he waits in patience till that veil which separates the present from the future has been finally withdrawn, till Christianity has been divested of the earthly symbols under which it is presented to his faith, and he beholds it as it is. What happens in the physical world as the reward of patient observation, will, he is persuaded, happen also in the moral world. The seeming incongruities will form at last a *concordissima dissonantia*, and the riddles that now test and try us, will be then converted into proofs of harmony and vehicles of love.

Second variety of modern thought.

2. But there is a powerful class of minds in England as in other parts of Europe, who are differently affected in their estimate of sacred topics by the fluctuations of the present day. The widening of their field of vision and the light that has been thrown on many of their favourite studies, so far from adding vigour to the principle of faith, has rather tended to disturb their intellectual balance, and induced a state of feeling which approaches, here and there at least, to very serious misbelief. The causes more immediately at work in the production of the change will doubtless vary with the tone and texture of the individual mind; but all whom I include in this division are alike dissatisfied with what they style 'the popular religion,' or the views of Christianity now current in different branches of the Church. Devoted in some cases to the study of the mechanism of nature, these persons form the habit of regarding the Almighty rather as a God of law

and order, 'a great Mechanician,' who has, once for all, impressed upon His works the tendencies which they are bound to follow, than as ever present with the sacred family and as ever active in the government of all things. Hence a disposition to reduce the supernatural elements of Christianity within the smallest possible compass, and in many cases to escape from the consideration of barely physical miracles, without, however, any conscious wish to call in question the abstract possibility of a miraculous intervention. The nature, method, limits, and effects of prophecy, and generally of that mysterious influence exercised upon the mind and spirit of the sacred writers which is termed their inspiration, have on similar grounds provoked the criticism of this school of theologians. In their eyes *the* evidence of Christianity, the single ground on which it ever must depend, is the inherent fitness of its central doctrines to appease their moral and emotional wants. But this position, where exclusively asserted, has involved them in the maintenance of others less consistent with the 'popular theology.' They contend for the importance, not to say necessity, of discriminating between the form of a religion and its essence; or, in other words, require us to abstract the kernel of the truth from what is merely husk and shell, and so determine what portions of the Holy Scriptures are divine, and really entitled to the designation 'Word of God.' Their chief criterion in conducting such a process they derive from what are called 'the pure instincts' of our spiritual nature, which it is affirmed enable us to call in question and correct some representations of the sacred writers, more especially of

CHAP. I. the Old Testament; the letter of which is held to be deficient in moral dignity, and even said to violate in some respects the perfect law of conscience. 'How inscrutable also,' it is whispered, 'are the views there furnished of the character of God Himself! How stern the aspects under which He is presented in His dealings with the world at large! How awful and repulsive the idea that beings gifted with such scanty opportunities of knowledge should have power to make themselves incorrigible in the present life, and so consign themselves to hopeless misery in the next! How terribly mysterious the arrangement in virtue of which an inconsiderable fraction of the human family has ever been elected from the guilty mass; while others are abandoned to their own devices, or have only faint and flickering lights to guide them in their searchings after God.' Allusions to these topics have exposed their authors to the charge of striving to disparage the supremacy of Christianity, by placing it in the same line with philosophical systems of the heathen world, and recognising also in such systems a prophetic office and a genuine revelation. It is not my purpose to determine how far the charge has been substantiated. I notice it in order to bring out more clearly the supposed connexion of these modes of thought with others that will be discussed hereafter. But candour, in the meantime, urges me to add that wild as may have been the intellectual aberrations of the former class, they are not consciously opposed to Christianity itself. Their reverence for the Person of our blessed Lord is warm and constant; their devotion to His service is indisputable.

CHAP. I.

Its parallel in the Primitive Church.

We understand them, in so far at least as their opinions are connected with the present subject, by reverting to the mental struggles of the early Church at Alexandria. As soon as ever Christian truth had come in contact with the speculative yearnings that prevailed in heathendom, its own adherents were divided into schools of thought considerably diverging from each other. One of these predominated in the West, the second in the East, especially in what was then a kind of philosophical exchange for all the various theorizers of the age,—the schools of Alexandria. Origen and others whom he represented, after weighing and contrasting the claims of Christianity with those of the prevailing heathen systems, occupied a somewhat new position.[1] They had listened to the pleas of Gnosticism; they saw it ramifying in all quarters and assuming everywhere the most grotesque expression; yet instead of treating it as an utter falsification of Christianity, they sympathised with it so far as to allow that real mental wants had given birth to many of its theories. They

[1] Mr. R. W. Mackay (*Rise and Progress of Christianity*, p. 193) will not, however, concede the name of philosophy to the Alexandrian speculations, because 'a philosophy tied to dogmatic authority is a manifest self-contradiction.' His meaning probably is that philosophy in his peculiar acceptation of the term cannot coexist with an objective revelation; and yet the phenomena of nature which are the subject of all natural philosophy are as truly such a revelation as the Holy Scriptures profess to be. 'The chief distinction,' he continues (p. 194), 'of the so-called philosophy seems to have been an enlarged and more liberal comprehension of former systems; the admission, against dogged ignorance, of the general claims of heathen wisdom as well as Jewish, as part of a universal revelation; and on the other hand the assertion, against the onesidedness of heretical Gnosis, of the plain doctrines of Christianity.' A more exact account of the principles and tendencies of this school is furnished by Guerike, *De Schola quæ Alexandriæ floruit, etc.*

CHAP. I. strove accordingly to satisfy the cravings of the pseudo-Gnosis by the substitution of a Gnosis properly so-called. They granted that the faith of ordinary Christians (πίστις) was in many points a popular adaptation rather than a scientific expression of the truth; and that beneath the terminology of the Church there lay a richer vein of doctrines which philosophers, and they alone, could thoroughly appreciate. Such thoughts would necessarily colour all the stream of Alexandrine theology, and especially the views of Clement, Origen, and their disciples, with regard to the position of the heathen world. No absolute boundary was drawn between the Christian Church and it; philosophy standing in the same relation to the one as did the law of Moses to the other, and serving as a kind of pedagogue to bring men unto Christ.[1] They raised the Gospel, it is true, indefinitely above all previous systems, and regarded it as superseding and completing them; but a profound anxiety to place it on a broader basis and in more intelligible connexion with ancient history as well as with the literary and artistic culture of mankind at large, impelled them to approximate as closely

[1] See, for instance, the remarkable passage in Clemens Alexand. *Stromata*, lib. I, c. 5. (p. 531, ed. Potter), and others in Mr. Trench's *Hulsean Lectures* (1846), p. 157, note. It should, however, be remembered that the eulogies of the Greek Fathers were generally limited to Platonism, a system which had doubtless acted here and there as a positive preparation for the Gospel. Many Platonists were numbered among the early converts, and some appear to have retained their scholastic mantle, esteeming what they had embraced the true philosophy: see Justin's *Dialog.* c. 3, c. 8, and Eusebius IV. 26, § 4. Their main positions were (1) that the Logos (ἄσαρκος or σπερματικός) had constantly communicated to men the seeds of Divine truth, so that the doctrines of Plato were in many cases not essentially different from those of Christ: (2) that portions of the truth as taught by Plato were derived directly from the Hebrew scriptures: Gieseler, *Eccl. Hist.* I. 163, n. 5, Edinb. 1846.

as the nature of the case allowed to the position of the pseudo-Gnostics. On the other hand, the Latin fathers, and especially their sternest type, Tertullian,[1] as uniformly laboured to repel those foreign elements which Gnosticism would fain have mingled and incorporated with the primitive belief. The barrier which they raised between the old and new convictions was impassable. The pagan world to them was anti-Christian in its very core; and even if it could be proved that correspondencies to any rites or dogmas of the Church were manifest in heathen systems, Tertullian and his school evaded the objections drawn from such phenomena, by urging that the whole of Gentilism was only a distorted copy of primordial truth, or else was actually derived from a perusal of the Old Testament Scriptures.[2] The traces left by both these parties on the current literature of the Church it is superfluous to point out.

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[1] In his *De Anima*, c. 23, he calls Plato 'omnium hæreticorum condimentarius;' but a more complete specimen of his modes of thought is furnished in the *De Præscriptione Hæreticorum*, c. 7 and c. 8: 'Quid ergo Athenis et Hierosolymis? Quid academiæ et Ecclesiæ? Quid hæreticis et Christianis? Nostra institutio de porticu Salomonis est: qui et ipse tradiderat, Dominum in simplicitate cordis esse quærendum. Viderint qui Stoicum et Platonicum et dialecticum Christianismum protulerunt. Nobis curiositate opus non est post Christum Jesum, nec inquisitione post Evangelium. Cum credimus, nihil desideramus ultra credere:' cf. *Adv. Hermogenem*, c. VIII, and Hippolytus, *Philosoph.* v. 6, Oxon. 1851.

[2] Thus he asks in his *Apolog.* c. XLVII: 'Unde hæc, oro vos, philosophis aut poetis tam consimilia? nonnisi de nostris sacramentis: si de nostris sacramentis, ut de prioribus, ergo fideliora sunt nostra magisque credenda, quorum *imagines* quoque fidem inveniunt.' The Latin Fathers in the age of St. Augustine had considerably modified their tone in treating of these subjects. Thus in the *De Civitate Dei*, lib. VIII, c. 11, we read: 'Mirantur autem quidam nobis in Christi gratia sociati, cum audiunt vel legunt Platonem de Deo ista sensisse, quæ multum congruere veritati nostræ religionis agnoscunt.' He explains the affinity by urging that Plato borrowed from the Hebrews. In his *Confessiones*, lib. VII, c. 20, he

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Third variety of modern thought.

3. But then, as now, there was a third variety of sentiment with reference to the claims of Christianity and its relation to the heathen world. I cannot tell how far the members of this third school draw their tenets from the writings of the Alexandrines, or have been affected by the speculations of their modern representatives. The path was very short and slippery from the standing-ground of orthodox Gnosticism to that of Marcion or Carpocrates. Nor can it be disputed that a like transition has been simplified in recent times by treatises of Christian philosophers, who themselves are checked in their descent to scepticism and disbelief. If men like Coleridge have indulged in vehement and indiscriminate charges of 'bibliolatry,' intending by that phrase all deference to the letter of our sacred books as absolutely true; if they have openly repudiated what they term the popular theology as destitute of Christian life and spirit, and have even represented some of its foremost doctrines as no better than a species of 'devil-worship,'—one need hardly marvel if a second generation of reformers claim the right of drawing bolder inferences from such ideas, and resolve to free themselves entirely from the irksome fetters of tradition. If it be again contended, that all branches of the human family possess the same kind of inspirations, owing to the universal presence of the Word of

also alludes to the preparatory effect produced on his own mind by the writings of the Platonists, but is careful to point out the insufficiency of everything short of the Holy Scriptures to teach the way to heaven. His cautious language is explained when we remember that he had to deal with Christian Platonists, 'Qui dicere ausi sunt omnes Domini nostri Jesu Christi sententias, quas mirari et prædicare coguntur, *de Platonis libris* eum didicisse:' cf. *De Doctrina Christiana*, lib. II, c. 28.

God within them; if the Holy Ghost be rather sent to waken up a slumbering consciousness of Christianity already planted in the soul than to infuse the elements of supernatural life, and bring the fallen spirit back to fellowship with Christ, a door is opened for the broad and specious theory, that the Gospel is at best a higher stage of natural religion, or, it may be, one of numerous forms, in which the spiritual instincts of humanity have found an utterance for themselves. CHAP. I

Examination of its principles.

With this remark on what appears to be at least a possible affinity between the second and third varieties of modern thought, I pass to an examination of the principles enunciated in the latter school. And first, it is observable that when a similar class of questions were discussed some years ago, the dress which they assumed was very different. What is known as the 'sensational' philosophy was then in the ascendant, or was not so commonly abandoned as it now is; and the fashion, therefore, was to ransack all the chambers and the tombs of history in quest of some objective bases for explaining the resemblances between the heathen systems and that founded by our blessed Lord. It was usual to suppose that certain general truths had been communicated in the infancy of the human race, by means of 'a primeval preternatural revelation,'[1] and that Christianity may therefore have preserved at least some fragments of

[1] Such, for example, was the solution adopted by the Unitarian author, Mr. Belsham; but Mr. W. J. Fox, originally of the same sect (*Religious Ideas*, p. 66, Lond. 1849), corrects his predecessor. 'That early revelation,' he urges, 'is better looked for in the source of all revelations, in that with which all revelations must be identified to be genuine,—the moral constitution of human nature, the human mind and heart.'

CHAP. I. such revelation, like the other extant creeds. They all, it was contended, were ultimately reducible to the same level; yet as none of them was altogether earthly in its origin, or merely a projection from the spiritual consciousness of man, the hope was entertained that in proportion to the growth of criticism, the aboriginal form of true religion might be rescued from accretions under which it lay concealed.

How modified by the Idealistic philosophy.

During the last twenty years, however, there has been a mighty change in the character of the established philosophy, and that change has gradually influenced the complexion of assaults on Christianity itself. A species of idealism is now the favourite system. The invisible world is recognised as one province of creation; a belief in what is spiritual and supersensuous has returned. Men's thoughts have been directed inward, so that speculators are impelled to search amid the silent depths of their own being, for the oracle that is to satisfy their cravings and to disentangle their perplexities. The primitive idea of God, it is maintained, by a spontaneous process of self-evolution leads directly upward to the purest and noblest conceptions of His nature, prompts the various 'races' of mankind to fashion their theologies in harmony with the instincts of the human spirit, and thus determines the religious character of every age and people. While the former generation struggled by the aid of criticism to weaken and destroy the credibility of Holy Scripture, or evacuated and etherialised the special doctrines of Christianity where these could not be utterly expunged, the new school commonly admit that some such doctrines were announced by Christ or His immediate successors, but

profess to treat them as so many natural products of the ordinary human mind, as self-devised expedients for appeasing a peculiar class of human wants and aspirations, or as forms assumed by the ideas of God in one peculiar stage of their development. Religions generally, and the Gospel as one member of the class, are therefore mere expressions of the fundamental beliefs inherent in our spiritual nature. These writers commonly refuse to be indebted for their guidance to a sacred book or any kind of outward revelation.[1] We no longer hear of Christ importing into Palestine the precious lore which had been gathered from the lips or volumes of the Eastern sages. We have not to answer the objection that His doctrines and precepts may be traced to this or that enlightened Hebrew, or were simply modern adaptations of maxims and traditions which had long been current in some Jewish sect. Objections of this kind have broken down, or balanced and destroyed each other. Of course the general resemblance of Christ's teaching to the teaching of His predecessors is affirmed, but such resemblance is attributed by spiritualists to the unaided operation of the religious sentiment in man, awakened and directed by peculiar circumstances.

Universality of its sympathies.

Nor can these be termed the speculations of a band of ignorant or dreamy mystics. They are entertained by men of learning; who profess more-

[1] In this respect the system of the Mormons, which in other features is not unlike the Absolute Religion, occupies a very different place. It allows that revelations of God's will have been made to all the world, so that there is no people who have not some portions of the truth among them. It even shews extreme indulgence to idolaters. Yet in sifting all other creeds, which it professes to have done, (Gunnison, *The Mormons*, pp. 60, 61, Philadelphia, 1852) it makes use of what is held to be the genuine book-revelation, and does not appeal to mere instincts of humanity.

CHAP. I. over a peculiar interest in the progress of civilisation, and who labour to advance what they believe to be the disenthralment of the human spirit. They affirm that something higher, deeper, heavenlier, is reserved for us; that growth must be expected and promoted not only in our apprehension of religious truth, but in the orb of truth itself; that their peculiar mission is to hasten this result by shewing man his real dignity and destiny, by sounding all the depths of human consciousness, and calling to their aid the newest facts of history and the last discoveries of science. They do not, indeed, contemn the worthies of antiquity. The statues of Confucius, Moses, and Pythagoras; of Socrates and Zoroaster; of Buddha, Christ, and Apollonius; of Máni and Muhammad, are all elevated side by side in the Walhalla of spiritualism. These all in different measures are applauded as the saints, the prophets, the apostles of their age; yet, notwithstanding the enormous latitude of his belief, the spiritualist is not content with any of the forms in which religion has hitherto appeared on earth. However well adapted to peculiar countries or to transitory phases of the human mind, they are unequal to the wants and the capacities of the present century. He would not himself have worshipped either with his 'swarthy Indian who bowed down to wood and stone,' or with his 'grim-faced Calmuck,' or his 'Grecian peasant,' or his 'savage,' whose hands were 'smeared all over with human sacrifice;' but rather aims, by analysing the principles of heathenism and cultivating a deeper sympathy with what is termed the 'great pagan world,' to organise a new system which he calls the Absolute Religion, the

Religion of Humanity, the Religion of the Future. From it all special dogmas are to be eliminated; sentiments which every one may clothe according to his fancy, are to occupy the place of facts; the light of a spontaneous Gospel is to supersede the clumsy artifice of teaching by the aid of a historical revelation. Thus, while the promoters of this scheme affect the greatest reverence for the wisdom and the so-called 'inspirations' of the past, they aim to soar indefinitely above it. Nearly all the doctrines of ancient systems are abandoned or explained away,[1] as things which really have no stronger claim upon us than the cycle of luxuriant mythes that captivated Greek imaginations in the pre-historic period. The Christ and Christianity of the Bible are thus virtually denied: 'superior intellects' are bidden to advance still higher, to cast off as worthless or ill-fitting the old garments of the Church, to join the standard of the Absolute Religion, and so march forward to 'the promised land.' Mr. Theodore Parker, one of their chief oracles, shall tell us what it is that we are summoned to believe; or, rather (for his system cannot boast of its constructiveness) what points they are that we are urged to throw away. After dwelling on *the* article of his faith—belief in what is called an 'Infinite God'—he thus proceeds, with painful flippancy of manner far too common in the schools of 'spiritualism':

How affected towards Christianity.

'Of course I do not believe in a devil, eternal torment, nor in a particle of absolute evil in God's world or in God. I do not believe that there ever was a miracle, or ever will be; everywhere I find law,—the constant mode of operation of the Infinite

[1] 'Religion,' says Mr. F. W. Newman, 'was created by the inward instincts of the soul: it had afterwards to be pruned and chastened by the sceptical understanding.' *Phases of Faith*, p. 232.

CHAP. I.

God. I do not believe in the miraculous inspiration of the Old Testament or the New Testament. I do not believe that the Old Testament was God's first word, nor the New Testament his last. The Scriptures are no finality to me. Inspiration is a perpetual fact. Prophets and Apostles did not monopolize the Father: He inspires men to-day as much as heretofore. In nature, also, God speaks for ever. . . . .I do not believe in the miraculous origin of the Hebrew Church, or the Buddhist Church, or the Christian Church; nor the miraculous character of Jesus. I take not the Bible for my master, nor yet the Church; nor even Jesus of Nazareth for my master. . . . . I try all things by the human faculties. . . . . But at the same time, I reverence the Christian Church for the great good it has done to mankind; I reverence the Mahometan Church for the good it has done,—a far less good.'[1]

The tendency retrogressive:

Such is one example of the creed commended as a substitute for Christianity. We are to hold the doctrine of one Infinite God, and then are left at liberty to disbelieve whatever else we please. Nor is the process of negations even here exhausted. The principles of spiritualism have carried many of their owners, by a course of fearless logic, into a denial of the Personal God Himself; and more who join the movement, who inscribe the name of freedom on their banners and talk loudly of the progress and perfectibility of man, are drifting in the very same direction, —to that vortex in which faith and morals also will be finally engulfed. For all the tendencies of this belief, whatever its apostles may affirm, are absolutely *retrogressive;* it is carrying men afresh to paganism.[2]

[1] *Theism, Atheism, and the Popular Theology*, pp. 263, 264. Other extracts, serving to elucidate the principles of this School, are added in Appendix I.

[2] Philippsohn, the Jewish writer above cited, has some striking observations on this tendency of modern thought, tracing it into its inevitable effects on morals as well as theology. One section of the anti-Talmudic Jews appears to be influenced by it. 'The Human Idea,' he concludes, p.

In spite of all its claims to a superior illumination, it leaves its votary with no intelligible object of worship but himself: it does not solve one mystery of his being; nay, it cannot even guarantee the immortality of his soul.

Mr. Parker, it is true, with small regard to the coherence of his principles, contends for the idea of God, which he has borrowed from the Bible, as 'different in kind from what is called the Universe, as self-subsisting and unchangeable.'[1] He also, it must be acknowledged, is impressed with the reality and universality of the 'religious sentiment,' which he deems 'the strongest and deepest element in human nature;' and some other writers of his school are doubtless under the influence of like convictions. Still it is indisputable that for the last twenty years or more the monstrous form of pantheism has threatened to devour a host of minor infidelities. The young Hegelians of Germany[2] are pantheists to a

leading men to Pantheism.

253, 'ever produces its own resolution into its various successive phases; each of these phases abrogates that which it followed, till it reaches its ultimate stage, the virtual disavowal of its own system. Such was its course in the religions of antiquity; in the philosophemes of the Greeks; in the later philosophemes of Des Cartes and Spinosa as in that of Hegelism. *It is a circle that ever terminates in itself, the serpent that holds its own tail in its mouth.*' The Pantheism of many Jewish speculators in the Middle Ages has been noticed by Van Mildert, *Boyle Lectures*, I, 258 sq.

[1] *Theism, Atheism, and the Popular Theology*, pp. 105 sq.

[2] One of Neander's latest warnings referred to the gigantic progress of this evil: 'Die eigentliche und alles verschlingende Gefahr wahrhaft liegt in dem sich nähernden entscheidenden Kampfe *für das wahre Dasein des Christenthums selbst, des Sittengesetzes, des Glaubens an einen persönlichen Gott;* ein Kampf, gegen welchen ganz unbedeutend erscheinen müssen alle Streitigkeiten zwischen verschiedenen christlichen Gemeinschaften, und wogegen zurücktreten müssen die untergeordneten Gegensätze zwischen Katholicismus und Protestantismus.' *Deutsche Zeitschrift*, for May, 1850, p. 163.

CHAP. I. man; and even the eclectic philosophy of M. Cousin[1] is not easily vindicated from the charge of fostering the same delusion.

Main features of Pantheism.

I shall not here dwell upon the ravings of 'material' pantheists, a minor class of speculators who rejoice to think with Comte that the religious sentiment in man is always necessarily weakened in proportion to his intellectual development, and who accordingly have joined the clamour for some 'Nouveau Grand-Être;' that is, for no God at all. But disregarding such, we find that even the more 'spiritual' section of the pantheists adopt the same ideas respecting Christianity as those already censured. The universe is in their system deified, or transubstantiated into God, its laws and processes are all identified with Him; humanity at large becomes a *necessary manifestation* of the Absolute. He is the ocean, we the waves. The various forms of human thought are all therefore equally inevitable and equally legitimate; evil is itself phenomenal, and nothing more,—the point of departure to a second moral state, which men distinguish by the name of good; while error is no more than uncompleted truth, or truth at some inferior stage of its development. Religions, in like manner,

[1] See Morell's *Hist. of Phil.* II, 512, 513, Maret's *Essai sur le Panthéisme dans les Sociétés Modernes*, 3me ed., Paris, 1845,—a work of great ability, but now and then one-sided, especially when it tries to shew that orthodox 'Protestantism' may be convicted of Pantheistic tendencies. The learned author ought to have reflected that Romanism is far more open to the charge of denying 'une vérité absolue et immuable' and of advocating 'la notion d'une vérité progressive et mobile' (p. 24). Thus a Romanist writer in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1854, Tome VIII, p. 1097, contends: 'Le catholique prenant le dogme *tel que le temps l'a fait* est, en un sens, bien plus près de la grande philosophie que le protestant, qui cherche à revenir sans cesse à une prétendue formule primitive du Christianisme.'

being based on what is termed 'the spontaneity of the human reason,' or the natural inspirations flowing from the breasts of seers and sages who resign themselves entirely to the guidance of the light within them, are equally fatuitous, and vary with the age and people in the midst of which they flourish. They can never hope to rise above the spiritual level of their authors; yet they all are to be viewed as true, because the genuine products of humanity, and adapted to the ends they are intended to subserve.[1]

It will be shewn hereafter how the same denial of the Personality of God pervaded nearly all the heathen systems of the ancient world, and everywhere produced the same results in ethics and theology. At present I shall only draw attention to the periodical recurrence of a similar spirit in the times posterior to the promulgation of Christianity. This course will serve a twofold purpose: it will render us familiar with the parentage of the objections which are levelled at the Gospel by our modern adversaries;

Antiquity of this class of objections.

[1] This plea for universal 'toleration' has, doubtless, commended the philosophical Pantheism of the day to one class of English minds: yet even Mr. F. W. Newman (*Hebrew Monarchy*, p. 26, 2nd ed.) is compelled to admit that in early times 'the pure monotheistic faiths' could not have been preserved except by what he calls 'intolerance,' *i. e.* want of sympathy with error. Heathenism in our own age is still most lenient in its estimate of 'collateral polytheistic systems.' M. Huc's *Travels* furnish several instances of this, and the following extract shews that the Brâhmans are actuated by the same spirit: 'Although stedfast in his faith, the Hindoo is not fanatical: he never seeks to make proselytes. If the Creator of the world, he says, had given the preference to a certain religion, this alone would have prevailed upon the earth; but as there are many religions, this proves the approbation of them by the Most High. Men of an enlightened understanding, says the Brâhman, well know that the Supreme has imparted to each nation the doctrine most suitable for it, and He therefore beholds with satisfaction the various ways in which He is worshipped.' Björnstjerna, *Theogony of the Hindoos*, p. 67, Lond. 1844.

CHAP. I. it will indicate how deep is the vitality of truth, how constant its resistance, and how sure its final triumph.

For if adversaries, starting up on every side, and armed with every species of objection, sought in vain to strangle Christianity at its birth; if they were baffled when the fashion was to scoff it down as the religion 'of weavers, shoemakers, and slaves;' if they retired before it till the symbol of the cross surmounting the conquered dragon was impressed on the imperial coinage, and till heathenism itself became 'the faith of peasants' (paganismus); if they won no credit even as supported by the zeal, the learning, and the power of Julian; if they furbish the old weapons only to be once again repulsed, when Julian's taunting prophecy has been for centuries confuted by experience, when those very nations which he deemed impervious to the Gospel rank among its foremost champions, and send forth the missionary in whose hands it is transplanted fresh at the antipodes, we may assuredly discover in this growth the evidence of supernatural life, the auguries of better things to come.

When Christianity was first announced in the great theatres of Oriental speculation it was forced at once into collision with those very systems out of which its modern enemies would fain extract it; and the struggle that ensued elicited in every case an opposition similar to that which it encounters now from persons who are studying to malign it or betray it with a kiss. Among the first assailants of the Pentateuch,[1] we find a writer who disparaged the

The Clementines.

[1] Cf. Neander, *Ch. Hist.*, I. 490, pp. 193—199, Hamburg, 1844. and Schliemann, *Die Clementinen*

idea of all objective revelation,[1] such as Christians entertained from the beginning. In the room of this it was proposed to substitute the inward revelation of the heart. An early race of Gnostics in like manner drew their inspirations altogether from within. Their composite system, borrowed partly from the Gospel, partly from the ancient creeds of Asia, was designed for the 'superior intellects' of the day, whom intuition (so they urged) exalted far above the sphere of faith, and liberated from the bondage of original Christianity. Hence they gloried in the name of 'spiritualists,'[2] and called 'the man of the Church' by a contemptuous title, intimating that he was still in subjection to the grosser elements of his nature. For a time the flattering speculations of this school obtained extensive currency; it put out branches in all quarters; it attracted multitudes of proselytes; and yet we search in vain for any of those noble fruits brought forth by Christianity. The system of the early Gnostic would not work; and therefore it has been extinct for centuries, unless perchance some trace of it is still discernible among the Druses of Mount Lebanon, whose doctrines here and there remind one of the creed of Basilides.[3]

The first race of spiritualists.

[1] See the *Clementine Homilies*, ed. Dressel, XVIII, 6: Ἀποκάλυψίς ἐστι τὸ ἐν πάσαις καρδίαις ἀνθρώπων ἀπορρήτως κείμενον κεκαλυμμένον, ἄνευ φωνῆς τῇ αὐτοῦ [sc. υἱοῦ] βουλῇ ἀποκαλυπτόμενον.

[2] See Irenæus *Contra Hæres.* Lib. III, c. XV, § 2. The following passage is significant: 'Plurimi autem et contemtores facti, quasi jam perfecti, sine reverentia et in contemtu viventes, semetipsos *spiritales* vocant, et se nosse jam dicunt eum, qui sit intra Pleroma ipsorum, refrigerii locum.' The Montanists in like manner boasted that they were πνευματικοί as being in possession of the last developments of truth; while ordinary Christians were only ψυχικοί: Gieseler, I, 148, and cf. Stieren's note on Irenæus, Lib. III, c. XI, § 9.

[3] Other remnants of the early Gnostics may possibly be discoverable among the 'Yezidis,' or 'Devil-worshippers' of Armenia: see von Haxthausen's *Transcaucasia*, p. 263. Lond. 1854.

CHAP. I.

Celsus and his cavils.

Again, it was by weapons such as those which had been wielded in the school of 'spiritualism,' though weapons of a coarser edge, that Celsus undertook to stem the progress of the early Church. 'He,' says Neander,[1] 'is the original representative of a class of intellects which, in the various attacks on Christianity, has over and over again presented itself to our notice: wit and acumen, without earnestness of purpose or depth of research; a worldly understanding that looks at things merely on the surface, and delights in hunting up difficulties and contradictions.' Celsus was, moreover, an avowed spiritualist. He taunts the Christian as belonging to an abject and a sense-bound race,[2] insists upon the duty of turning from all outward things to gain a deeper intuition of God through the perceptions of the mind, and more especially denounces the idea of all particular revelations to a single people, on the ground that they induce contracted and unworthy notions of the Supreme Being. Yet this champion of a purer creed than Christianity, this propagator of more lofty thoughts, which he affected to support by what he terms the 'inspirations' of the heathen writers, does not scruple to decry 'the jealous monotheism of the Christians,'[3] apologising even for the worship of the 'dæmons,' or divine agencies in nature. He treats the history of Christ Himself in a profane spirit, sneers at Christian humility as a debased and stupid misconception of the Platonic sentiment, has no idea of sin except that it is either necessary or unreal, and

[1] *Ch. Hist.* I, 227.

[2] Δειλὸν καὶ φιλοσώματον γένος. Origen, *cont. Celsum.* Lib. VII, p. 357, ed. Spencer.

[3] See the confession of one of his more recent admirers, Mr. Mackay, *Rise and Progress of Christianity*, p. 159.

is therefore at a loss to understand the meaning of redemption.[1] CHAP. I.

Neo-Platonism.

But the supernatural character of the Christian faith was meanwhile threatened by a more insidious adversary. On the confines of the Church appeared a number of inquiring spirits who were anxious to escape from the prevailing nature-worship, and sustain, if possible, the tottering cause of heathenism by giving to it a more spiritual constitution; and from them originated the idea of fusing Christianity with their eclectic system. Affecting to guide mankind into a knowledge of the Absolute, it took the name of Neo-Platonism; and as the founder of it was acquainted with the Gospel, which he once indeed professed,[2] some precious elements of Christian truth were blended with the empty legends and philosophisings out of which it was compounded. Christ, however, was admitted there as only one of many creatures who had taken rank with the immortals. Pythagoras was to stand on nearly the same level, being honoured by the Neo-Platonist professors as an incarnation of the Deity, who was 'sent to bring down the light of happiness and philosophy for the salvation of the human race.'[3] Some of them asserted also that the genuine teaching of our Lord

[1] Cf. Neander, as above, pp. 231 sq.

[2] It is curious to notice how Porphyry, himself a Neo-Platonist opponent of the Gospel, speaks of Ammonius Saccas becoming 'a thinker:' *Ἀμμώνιος μὲν γὰρ Χριστιανὸς ἐν Χριστιανοῖς ἀνατραφεὶς τοῖς γονεῦσιν, ὅτε τοῦ φρονεῖν καὶ τῆς φιλοσοφίας ἥψατο, εὐθὺς πρὸς τὴν κατὰ νόμους πολιτείαν μετεβάλετο*: in Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* VI, 19. Here, however, as in most other cases where a search after the Absolute was undertaken independently of revelation, it issued in Pantheism; since the Absolute and the Personal, the Finite and the Infinite, are only reconciled in Christ: cf. Maret, as before, pp. 145 sq.

[3] Such was the language of Iamblichus, one of his biographers: Mackay, p. 161.

CHAP. I. Himself had harmonised with theirs; but was corrupted by His followers.[1] Yet they all evinced the heathen bias of their system by repudiating the monotheism of Christianity, by consenting to adapt their doctrines to the grossest forms of popular superstition, and by teaching that all nations had their own peculiar 'dæmons,' whom it was the duty of the masses to propitiate and adore. So plausible were many of the arguments alleged in aid of this religious syncretism that emperors for a while embraced it; and had Christianity assented to the compromise, the rage of persecution might have ceased. We read that in the private oratory of Severus, Abraham was now associated with Orpheus, and Apollonius of Tyana with our blessed Lord Himself;[2] and Hadrian, captivated by a similar class of speculations, was anxious at one period to enthrone the Founder of Christianity among the gods of the metropolis, desisting only after he had calculated the profound and sweeping changes which this measure would have certainly produced.[3]

[1] 'Ita enim volunt et ipsum credi, nescio quid aliud scripsisse, quod diligunt, *nihilque sensisse contra deos suos*, sed eos potius magico ritu coluisse; et discipulos ejus non solum de illo fuisse mentitos, dicendo illum Deum, per quem facta sint omnia, *cum aliud nihil quam homo fuerit*, quamvis excellentissimæ sapientiæ; verum etiam de diis eorum non hoc docuisse, quod ab illo didicissent.' S. Augustin. *de Consensu Evangelistarum*, Lib. I, § 52, ed. Bened.

[2] 'Matutinis horis in larario suo, in quo et divos principes, sed optimos, electos, et animas sanctiores, in queis et Apollonium, et, quantum scriptor suorum temporum dicit, Christum, Abraham et Orpheum, et hujusmodi cæteros habebat, ac majorum effigies, rem divinam faciebat.' Lampridius, in *Vit. Sever. Alex.* c. 29.

[3] *Ibid.* c. 43. Speaking of the early Christian centuries Mr. Max Müller remarks (Bunsen's *Univ. Hist.* I, 119): 'It was a period of religious and metaphysical delirium, when everything became everything, when Mâyâ and Sophia, Mitra and Christ, Virâf and Isaiah, Belus, Zarvan, and Kronos were mixed up in one jumbled system of inane speculation, from which at last the East was delivered by the positive doctrines of Mohammed, the West by the pure Christianity of the Teutonic nations.'

And now the Christian, whose uncompromising temper had survived the calumnies and scoffs, the torture and the flame, of Western heathenism, was called to meet another class of adversaries,—one that brought to the encounter not only the familiar mythes of pagan Greece and Rome, but tortuous subleties and huge abstractions, which had long engaged the pensive and ascetic spirits of the East. The pure and lofty Theism of the Church already, it is true, had vanquished many forms of eastern speculation, when the earliest race of Gnostics had been driven from the field of controversy. Still another and more formidable series of attacks, all aiming to confound the Gospel with the old religions of Asia, date their rise from the appearance of the Persian Máni, who flourished at the opening of the fourth century. His main position[1] is, that on comparing the systems of Zoroaster and Buddha with that of Jesus Christ, the same divine ingredients are observable in all, though under various shades and modifications. Hence it was proposed to bring about a reconciliation of the three systems, or rather to incorporate the older creeds with what had been more recently revealed in Christianity. Máni was himself to be the organ of God (the 'Paraclete') for carrying on this fresh development, and one of his chief duties was to purify the intellects of men in order that they might be rescued from all servile bondage to the past, and more particularly from what was held to be a special artifice of the evil principle, the Old Testament œconomy. To promote this separation he affirmed that inspirations granted to himself enabled him to point out what

Manichæism.

1 Cf. Neander, *Ch. Hist.* II, 157 sq.

CHAP. I. was merely human, transitory, or accommodated to the prejudices of the Jewish people, in the records of the New Testament; his dictum being pressed on all as absolutely infallible, because it was affirmed that he in his own person represented the last progress in the knowledge of religious truth. But Máni, though he struggled hard and was supported by a train of energetic followers, could not shake the constancy of the more earnest Christians. They perceived that his religion was erected on a fundamental misconception, and was utterly antagonistic to their own. He started with ideas of God and His relation to the world, which if not absolutely pantheistic bordered very closely upon pantheism, and must result in it eventually. His Ahriman they felt was not the Satan of the Bible. But they saw still more distinctly that if his principles were true, they would produce an utter severance of the Old and New Testaments. These they had been taught to recognise as equally Divine, as so indissolubly bound together and so mutually interpenetrating that to rob them of the first would be to tear the second into shreds and tatters.

Persistency of like objections.

We occasionally encounter the descendants of such misbelievers even during the inertness of the Mediæval period. As many tenets of the Neo-Platonist were re-adopted in the ninth century by John Scotus Erigena,[1] so the errors of the Manichæan[2] found a

[1] See a recent article in the *North British Review*, No. XLV. pp. 121, sq. The writer shews, however, that Scotus 'never lost his faith entirely either in the personality of God or in the supernatural teaching of the Bible.'

[2] The following extract from a *Formula Receptionis Manichæorum* belonging to the period, shews that Buddha, Máni, Zoroaster,

simultaneous echo in the pulpits of Paulicians, Cathari, and Albigenses. Other instances might be collected from the annals of the following period; but as soon as the study of the pagan poets and philosophers revived, the general tendency of thought was somewhat different. Oriental speculations were less known, and writers like Boccaccio[1] prove their heathenish turn of mind, by using heathen phraseology to designate the highest mysteries of Holy Writ, and otherwise promoting the amalgamation of the two religions. Prayers are offered in the most offensive spirit to Jupiter, to Juno, and to Venus. The incarnation of 'the son of Jupiter' is mentioned; he is said to have visited the earth, that he might forward its redemption. Other scholars[2] of this stamp proceed yet further; they place our blessed Lord in juxtaposition with Socrates and Plato, identify the Persons of the Holy Trinity with heathen deities, and under the patronage of the Medici at Florence threaten to obliterate the characteristic doctrines of the Gospel, or confound them with the theories of Greek philosophy.[3]

The spiritualists of the Reformation period.

With the Reformation of the sixteenth century, levelling as it did so many of the ancient boundaries

Christ and the Sun, were then treated as different manifestations of the same power: 'Ἀναθεματίζω τοὺς τὸν Ζαρδὰν καὶ Βουδᾶν καὶ τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ τὸν Μανιχαῖον, καὶ τὸν ἥλιον, ἕνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι λέγοντας. Tollius, *Itiner. Italic.* p. 134. Traject. 1696.

[1] This may be seen especially in the *Filocolo* (al. *Filocopo*), where, as Sismondi (*Liter. of Southern Europe*, I. 300) has remarked, Boccaccio 'seems determined to confound the two religions, and to prove that they are in fact the same worship, under different names.'

[2] Roscoe's *Life of Leo X.*, II. 87, 88. Hence the frightful growth of infidelity at Rome itself immediately before the Reformation: see, for instance, Erasmus, *Epist.* lib. XXVI. ep. 34, ed. Le Clerc.

[3] Cf. the determinations of the Council of Lateran, Labbe, XIV. 188.

CHAP. I. of human thought, and breaking off so many time-worn fetters, came a signal for the reappearance of free-thinkers still more cognate with misguided zealots of the present day. Servetus and the rest of the 'Illuminati' were, in fact, precursors of the English spiritualists.[1] They all opposed themselves to the idea of an objective revelation, often substituting for the Holy Scriptures the distempered products of their own imaginations, and claiming the infallible guidance of the Holy Spirit, whom, in cases where the plea was more convenient, they represented as superior in authority even to the Lord Himself. Their utter subjectivity involved them also in the absolute denial of the cardinal doctrines promulgated by the Church, impelled them to devise eccentric institutions, and assert that 'every man shall be saved by the law or sect which he professeth.'[2] It was not, however, till the following century that men of learning and intelligence were seriously possessed by the desire of founding what is called an Absolute Religion. Lord Herbert of Cherbury was the first in England who approximated closely to the ground of Mr. Parker. Grievously perplexed by the phenomena of heathenism, he entered on the task of sifting the peculiarities of all religions. Out of the residuum he attempted

Lord Herbert.

[1] See the evidence collected in Mr. Riddle's *Bampton Lectures*, (1852) pp. 394 sq. The error there noted of Castellio, who 'separated Scripture from the Spirit,' has been very common both before and since the Reformation. Thus Milton hinted (*Prose Works* IV. 449, Bohn's ed.) that 'the Spirit which is given us is a more certain guide than Scripture, whom, therefore, it is our duty to follow.'

[2] Art. XVIII. of the XXXIX. The Scottish Confession of 1560 speaks in like manner, 'of those that affirm, that men quhilk live according to equitie and justice, shall be saved, what religioun soever they have professed,' in Knox's *Works*, II. 108, ed. Laing.

to compile a creed,[1] consisting of five simple articles, which all the world, he ventured to predict, would recognise as true, and deem sufficient as a term of communion and a warrant of salvation.

English and French Deists.

Many of his followers in that century and the next proceeded to far greater lengths.[2] In Tindal, Collins, Blount, Chubb, Woolston, and Bolingbroke at home; and in Dupuis, Voltaire, and D'Alembert on the continent, we find a class of writers who resolved at every hazard, and with confidence[3] proportioned to their daring, to destroy the credibility of Holy Writ, to pour contempt on all external revelations, and conduct us back if possible to heathenism,

[1] After announcing his own five articles, he adds: 'quos non nostri tantum sed universi Orbis cœtus pro veris indubitatisque habere debent.' *De Religione Gentilium*, p. 2, Amstel. 1663. This treatise, together with its companion *De Veritate* published as early as 1624, has been examined at length by Leland, in his useful *View of the Principal Deistical Writers* (XVIIth and XVIIIth cent.) 5th ed. 1798. See also on the general question of modern Deism, the sketch given by Van Mildert in his *Boyle Lectures* (1802—1805), Lect. IX.—Lect. XII.

[2] In speaking of Tindal, whose *Christianity as old as the Creation* first appeared in 1730, Leland remarks (I. 127): 'Others have attacked particular parts of the Christian scheme, or of its proofs. But this writer has endeavoured to subvert the very foundations of it, by shewing that there neither is nor can be any external revelation at all, distinct from what he calls *the internal revelation of the law of nature in the hearts of all mankind*,' &c. Tindal was a veritable forerunner of the spiritualists. 'He sometimes speaks as if he thought the deists were infallibly guided, in making use of the reason God hath given, to *distinguish religion from superstition*, so that they are sure not to run into any errors of moment,' (p. 128). Other persons who were in favour of an external revelation he called 'Demonists.'

[3] Thus, when Dupuis published his *Origine de tous les Cultes*, the volume on Christianity started with the boast, 'qui doit faire une révolution dans le monde religieux et dans le culte de plusieurs grandes nations,' (ed. Auguis, v. 1). He tells us immediately after, 'Christ sera pour nous ce qu'ont été Hercule, Osiris, Adonis, Bacchus. Il partagera en commun avec eux le culte que tous les peuples de tous les pays et de tous les siècles ont rendu à la Nature universelle et à ses agens principaux.'

CHAP. I.

or 'the religion of nature.'[1] But in vain; the truth of God was still victorious. Notwithstanding the depressed condition of theology, and notwithstanding the corrupted spirit and materialistic temper of the age, the flood of intellectual licence was again rolled back. The Ark still rode in conscious majesty upon the bosom of the surging waters; while many rival systems, fabricated in compliance with 'the instincts of humanity,' and directed by 'the light of nature,' perished in the storm they had provoked. It is remarkable that not a few of the objections ventilated at this period by the English 'Deists,' found their way across the channel, and in Germany communicated a fresh impulse to the Rationalistic movement.[2] They are now returning home, etheria-

[1] 'The present unbelievers,' writes Waterland, ('Wisdom of the Ancients,' *Works*, v. 4) 'are setting up what they call natural religion, to rival supernatural: human reason in the heart of man, in opposition to Divine reason laid down in the Word of God; or to say all in short, *Pagan darkness* in opposition to Scripture light.' The kind of worship which these heralds of the Absolute Religion would fain establish in the room of what they found among the Christians of their times, may be gathered from *An Apology for professing the Religion of Nature in the Eighteenth Century of the Christian Æra*, (Twelve Letters addressed to Bishop Watson), 1789. The author then adds *A Liturgy on the Principles of Theism* 'in which philosophers might join without insulting their understandings or corrupting their hearts.'

The 'First Service' commences thus:

'Powerful Ruler of the Universe! whatever thou art—whether Nature necessarily existing; or the animating spirit of mortals,—we adore Thee, who by impenetrable methods conductest all things to Thy purposes.' ....

The 'First Service' ends:—

'Despotic government has not produced a tyrant; human nature has not generated a monster, so cruel, so revengeful, so wicked as the odious phantom to which superstition is devoted!'

In the 'Second Service,' (p. 195) the pantheism is avowed.

'How shall we speak of Nature, or of Nature's God! Everything tends to convince us, we should not, for we cannot seek the Deity out of Nature. Everything to us is impossible which is not produced by its laws.'

[2] Tholuck has drawn attention to this fact in his *Glaubwürdigkeit der evangel. Gesch.*: cf. also Mr. Riddle's *Bampton Lectures*, p. 397.

lised indeed, and moulded into more fantastic shapes, although substantially the same objections as before. England once the master has become the ardent, apt, and credulous disciple; and when numbers of our brethren on the continent are just emerging from the fogs of scepticism and welcoming the earliest dawn of better days, it seems as though the English were resolved to venture out again into the same dreary regions,—only to be taught again the utter fruitlessness of all endeavours to resolve the arduous problems of humanity without the aid of Holy Writ.

Different modes of resisting these attacks.

Impelled by the necessity of coping with these wild and retrogressive tendencies, the Christian advocate has never shrunk from the encounter, and has seldom found his labours altogether unsuccessful. He may not indeed be always guided by a sound discretion; he may fail to understand the nature of the malady in certain cases, and in others may suggest an antidote that does not work its cure; but still his consciousness of the profound importance of the issue has been ever visible. He feels that to reduce our blessed Lord into the category of human seers is practically to dethrone Him. Christianity will tolerate no rival. They who wish to raise a tabernacle for some other master, be it even for the greatest worthies of the old œconomy,—a Moses or Elias,—must be warned that Christ, and Christ alone, is to be worshipped: they must hear *Him*.

The Eastern Church, as we have seen, appeared at first to use less emphasis in their assertion of this truth than the contemporary Latin writers; or rather by evincing a disposition to multiply the points of contact between Christianity and other systems, and

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so recognising a prophetic element in Gentilism, they gave a handle to the laxer party who had little or no reverence even for the character of Christ. But all such tenderness for the religions of the heathen world was everywhere forgotten in the Middle Ages.[1] They who issued forth to plant the cross among the northern and eastern nations, had to deal with men who were not absolutely hostile to the Saviour, but who recognised in Him no more than a pre-eminently gracious Being to be added to the number of their dark divinities,[2] or else esteemed the Gospel only one manifestation of the Absolute akin to their own religions:[3] and hence the ardent missionary, full of zeal, though sometimes wanting in intelligence, was tempted to commence his exhortations by decrying all their gods as evil spirits, and exaggerating the guilt of their departed ancestors. A milder tone, however, grew more common at the period of the Reformation. Many rose to advocate the salvability of the nobler class of heathen, gloried to have found sublimer thoughts in their philosophers, or more tender precepts in their poets, and even went so far as to maintain, that some of them had access to the highest truths,

[1] When Bede was pressed with the objection that many heathen philosophers had evinced a large amount of moral sensibility, he answered that none who were ignorant of Christ, the virtue of God and the wisdom of God, could have either *true* virtue or *true* wisdom. Yet he adds: 'In quantum vero vel gustum aliquem sapientiæ cujuslibet vel virtutis imaginem habebant, *totum hoc desuper acceperunt;* non solum munere primæ conditionis, verum etiam quotidiana ejus gratia, qui creaturam suam nec se deserentem deserens, dona sua, prout ipse judicaverit, hominibus et magna magnis et parva largitur parvis.' *Expositio in Cant. Canticorum;* Opp. IX. 197, ed. Giles.

[2] See an example in Neander, v. 397.

[3] See the striking testimony of a Franciscan missionary in Raynald. *Annal. Eccl.* ad an. 1326, § 31.

and were instructed by the Word of God unwritten. A most zealous Swiss reformer[1] on the one side and a learned bibliothecarius[2] of the Roman pontiff on the other, represented this new phase of thought. The latter even did not hesitate to urge that the philosophy of the ancients was a kind of 'tacit Christianity,' and that the promulgation of the Gospel only took away the inmost veil and brought us into full communication with the source of supernatural truth. Since then the records of the ancient world have been repeatedly examined in order to obtain fresh light for the determination of these questions. Theophilus

[1] Walter (Gualther) was under the necessity of defending Zwingli on account of the freedom with which he had praised the heathen poets and philosophers, which exposed him to the charge of ranking idolaters and Epicureans with the Christian saints. The apologist then proceeds: 'Cum vero illud [*i. e.* Verbum Dei] non vacuum redire, nec fructu suo carere dicat Dominus, nemo opinor negabit plures ex gentibus quoque ad salutem pervenisse, si nimirum eos Dei verbo vel *externo* vel *interno* aliquo modo instructos fuisse demonstraverimus,' *etc.* Pref. to Zwingli's *Works*, ed. 1545, sign. ϵ, 4. Cf. Browne, *On the Articles*, II. 75. Erasmus and others used similar language: Hey, *Lectures*, II. 360.

[2] The *De Perenni Philosophia* of Augustinus Steuchus Eugubinus, titular bishop of Kisamos, was published at Basle in 1542. His principles may be gathered from Lib. X. c. 23: 'Claret igitur post multa secula missam diuinitus Theologiam, nihil aliud fuisse quam priscorum seculorum caligantis iam et obscuræ, quam animis hominum impresserat Deus, et uoce sua in creatione, post in secuto tempore per nuncios tradiderat, scientiæ revelationem. Neque enim fieri potest, quod postea cœlitus est apertum, quodque perfecte declaraturus uenit e cœlo in terras Deus, ante aduentum eius alia ratione celebre fuisse quam eadem ipsa quod diuinitus esset traditum.' In 1548 appeared the *Historia de diis gentilibus* of Greg. Sylv. Gyraldus; in allusion to which Eckermann, *Religionsgeschichte und Mythologie*, I. 12 (Halle, 1848), remarks: 'Schon seit dem Anfange des sechszehnten Jahrhunderts hatte man *besonders in Italien* angefangen, die Theologie und die Mythologie des heidnischen Alterthums in mannigfaltige nähere Beziehung zu setzen. Man fing an zwischen den Mythen des Heidenthums und den Sagen des Alten Testaments Vergleichungen anzustellen, und gründete namentlich die Ansicht, dass sämmtliche polytheistische Religionen nur als Abartungen aus, oder Abfälle von

CHAP. I. Gale endeavoured to establish,[1] 'that the proud sophists of Greece, esteemed the eye of the world for wisdom,' were 'fain to come and light their candles at the sacred fire, which was lodged in the Jewish Church.' While Cudworth, 'anxious to satisfy those amongst us who boggle so much at the Trinity, and look upon it as the choke-pear of Christianity,'[2] employed his deep and ponderous erudition in maintaining that a similar doctrine was known among the Platonists; this being, in fact, one only out of many consequences that resulted from the co-existence of a true philosophy external to the sphere of revelation. But with Cudworth it should be remembered, such a view in no wise tended to discredit the Old Testament, or to excite the faintest prejudice against it. In the present day the same investigation is actively proceeding; and now that every corner of the heathen world has been explored, a somewhat different explanation of the correspondencies between the Gentile and Christian systems has been generally adopted, at least by all those writers who preserve the ancient reverence for the Bible. There is now no general wish among the orthodox to trace such parallelisms

dem Hebräischen Monotheismus anzusehen seien, und war emsig bemüht, dieselbe auf gelehrte Weise zu begründen.'

[1] *Court of the Gentiles*, 'Advertisements to the Reader.'

[2] *Intellectual System*, Pref. p. xliii., cf. II. 428 sq. But in making out as good a case as possible for the heathen, whose polytheism he appears to have considered as little more than a monotheism in disguise, this great writer confounded the religion of ancient nations with the theological opinions of the leading poets and philosophers: see Mosheim's note, in Vol. II. p. 251. Coleridge was nearer to the truth, when he wrote as follows: 'Across the night of Paganism, philosophy flitted on, like the lantern-fly of the Tropics, a light to itself, and an ornament, but alas! no more than an ornament of the surrounding darkness. Christianity reversed the order.' *Aids to Reflection*, I. 146, Pickering's ed.

exclusively to the diffusion of the Hebrew Scriptures.[1] There is even less occasion to suspect that any critical pressure will be used for bringing the philosophy of heathenism into more perfect unison with the distinctive doctrines of the Church. Yet on the other hand the features of resemblance, few and dim and fragmentary though they be, are welcomed as so many testimonies to the truth of revelation—as 'unconscious prophecies of heathendom,' or else as portions of that spiritual heritage which men and tribes bore with them from the cradle of the human race. A living writer[2] has observed, that 'the noblest and most effectual way of defending Christianity is not to condemn everything which preceded it,—to turn all the virtues of distinguished heathens into splendid vices,—but rather to make them testify in its favour.'

Plan and purpose of the present work.

Such is also my conviction; and with kindred feelings I now purpose to reopen the investigation of those leading facts and the analysis of those ideas of

[1] The evidence that can be urged in favour of this view, has been recently collected in Mr. Tomkins's *Hulsean Prize Essay*, (1849).

[2] Schaff, *Ch. Hist.* I. 168. It is gratifying to remark that Creuzer in his elaborate *Symbolik*, though he manifests no very decided prepossessions in favour of Christianity, is not influenced by any fanatical dislike of it, and that the French scholar (M. Guigniaut) who translated and enlarged the work of Creuzer is of the same mind. For example, he echoes the following sentiment: 'Pour moi,' dit M. Creuzer, 'la meilleure religion est celle qui conserve avec la plus grande pureté le caractère moral et prescrit aux peuples la règle des mœurs la plus sévère. Je suis loin de penser, toutefois, que dans la morale réside toute l'essence de la religion; je sais au contraire que les plus nobles âmes, et les peuples les plus mémorables des temps anciens et modernes, ont demandé à cette dernière des lumières plus hautes sur le mystère de notre existence et sur nos futures destinées. Entre toutes les religions connues, le christianisme me paraît avoir le mieux satisfait à ce double besoin de l'homme: mais, soit dans sa doctrine, soit dans les formes de son culte, il avait été et avait dû être préparé par les religions antérieures.' *Religions de l'Antiquité*, 'Avertissement,' p. 7.

CHAP. I. heathenism which the opponents of Christianity have been accustomed to adduce as parallel to what is found in the sacred volume, and as, therefore, placing Gentile systems on a level with the Church of God. Such points of correspondency, where they in truth exist, I hold to be explainable without in any way diminishing the lustre of the Gospel or detracting in the least degree from the supremacy which it enjoys in the affections of the Christian world.

The order I propose to follow in discussing the religious systems where minute comparison has been thought desirable,[1] is this :—

Part II. *The Religions that arose and still prevail in Hindústán and some adjoining countries.*

Part III. *The Religions of Mexico, of China, and the Southern Seas.*

Both these groups appear to have always been entirely external to the sphere of Hebrew influence.

Part IV. *The Religions of Ancient Egypt and Persia.*

These, it is alleged, have both at different periods actually modified the development of thought among the Hebrews; the first, during their long residence in Egypt; the second, during the Babylonish captivity.

Part V. *The Religions of Ancient Greece and Rome.*

With these the planters of Christianity were brought into immediate contact at the very opening of their work, and over these they won a triumph in the first five centuries of the present era.

[1] If it be asked why Muhammadanism is not included in the series, my reply is, that I consider it a debased form of revealed religion,—a Christian, or more properly, a Jewish heresy. Paret, in the *Studien und Kritiken*, 1855, 2tes Heft, p. 295, calls it 'eine niedere Abart oder, wenn man will, Abklatsch der Offenbarungsreligion.'

The Religions of the Saxon, Scandinavian, and Slavonic tribes. CHAP. I. Part VI.

Among these tribes the principles of heathenism appear to have been strongest; and some of them in fact were not converted to Christianity for a thousand years after its promulgation.

But before proceeding to determine the characteristics of these several groups,[1] on each of which I purpose to bestow a separate investigation, it is necessary to my argument that certain other points should be established. These will be comprised in two preliminary chapters.

One of them has reference to the question touching *the unity of the human race*—a question intimately bound up with my present subject. For if it be in any measure probable that all varieties of men originated in a single pair, I shall be *pro tanto* justified in urging this important fact, as one medium of account- *Chapter II.*

[1] Objections have been urged against this arrangement on the ground that it does not recognise 'the great watersheds of thought and language which divide the principal families of the human race' (*Col. Ch. Chr.* March, 1858, p. 105). The plan proposed by one reviewer is to take the threefold division of the human race, the Semitic, the Aryan, and the Turánian, and assuming that the spheres of language and religion are generally conterminous, to arrange all the religions of which we have any authentic information under these three different heads. 'There is the Semitic family with its spiritual monotheism, the Aryan family with its worship of nature, and the Chinese and Turánian races with their vague belief in a Divine Being, neither spiritual nor natural, but hovering in its ghostly unreality between heaven and earth, filling the human heart with fear and superstition, but unable to inspire its votaries with the joy and confidence of the Aryan suppliant, or the awe and reverence of the Semitic worshipper.'

But this criticism, even if the counter-theory could be established, seems to emanate from a misconception of the work on which I am now occupied. I am not writing a history of all religions, but am comparing the chief religions of heathendom with Christianity or Revealed Religion. *That* is my centre.

CHAP. I. ing for traditions which were afterwards diffused through all the human family.

Chapter III.

The second point concerns what may be called the *characteristic features of the Old Testament religion*, and its vital coherence with the system founded in and by our blessed Lord. For if this close connexion be established, I am able to point out the ancient germ and nucleus of which Christianity became the *true* development; and if the principles pervading both the stages of Revealed Religion be fundamentally the same, a standard will have been erected in the ancient world whereby to estimate the real character and tendencies of those contemporary religions, which, as we shall see hereafter, sprang up wild in different soils of paganism.

CHAPTER II.

On the Unity of the Human Race.

'Quanquam in hoc ipso non mediocriter peccent quod non *hominis* causa dicunt, sed *hominum*. Unius enim singularis appellatio totum comprehendit humanum genus. Sed hoc ideo, quia ignorant unum hominem a Deo esse formatum, putantque homines in omnibus terris et agris, tanquam fungos, esse generatos.' LACTANTIUS, *Divin. Instit.* lib. VII. c. 4.

THE object of this chapter is to indicate, as briefly as may be, the general nature of the evidence producible in favour of the oneness of the human species, or the derivation of the various tribes of man from one common stock.[1] I cannot hope to enter far into the details of so vast a question; nor indeed will it be necessary. For the main conditions of the argument are satisfied, if I can prove that modern sciences, so far from damaging in this respect the credibility of the sacred record, are all tending to establish and confirm it. In other words, I shall be content with shewing that researches of the present age conspire to warrant a belief in the original unity of men, and

[1] Any comparative view of the religions of the world would be valueless, indeed philosophically impossible, unless we may regard them as all concerned with one subject-matter; contemplate them as phenomena of the spiritual relations of the same class of rational creatures with the same Divine Being who is over all. Hence the questions of the unity of the human race and the unity of God, as vindicated in the Old Testament, are preliminary to our main investigation.

CHAP. II. therefore serve to justify the expectation, that traditions current in the various tribes and peoples of antiquity had very much in common, having emanated from the same primordial source.

Impugners of the unity of the human race.

During the last century, when scepticism of every kind was rampant, and when France was in particular embarking on her infidel crusade against all noble theories of man, of God, and of the universe, the fashion was to scoff at this idea of consanguinity among the different nations of the globe. Language was regarded as a mere conventional apparatus gradually devised by the untutored savage: 'positive religions' were decried as engines of a crafty priesthood, or as 'heresies' of what was called 'the religion of nature:' while man himself had been reduced to little more than one of the varieties of animal life.

The same degrading notions led the French Encyclopédists to deny not only the objectivity of human nature, but the common origin of men. It will be found that all intelligent belief in the unity of the human race, is naturally associated with belief in God's own unity and paternity, with real consciousness of sin, with ardent longings for redemption, and particularly with a recognition of the fact, that Christ and the apostles planted a religious system which provides for men of every age and climate, and is capable of indefinite expansion. These truths the unbelievers of the last century assailed with blasphemous vituperation: and, therefore, we are not surprised to hear them advocating the hypothesis of independent human species. According to Voltaire, none but a blind man can doubt, that the whites, negroes, Albinos, Hottentots, Laplanders, Chinese and

Americans, are entirely distinct races. Since that time, however, there has been a vast reaction in the mind of European scholars. * It is true, assailants are not wanting who repeat among ourselves the oft-exploded cavils of the French Encyclopédists. The most cultivated nations are still said to have been formed in the very lowest grade of savage life, and to have struggled year by year into their present stage of moral, social, and religious elevation; passing from the grossest Fetishism to a refined and flexible Polytheism, and so upwards, till they were at last enabled, by some means or other, to evolve the true idea of God.[1] But even where these principles of development are entertained, their authors do not speak so positively as the sceptics of the former age, against the oneness of the human family;[2] while others who refuse on different grounds to acquiesce in the scriptural account of man's origin, have, notwithstanding, been constrained by philosophical reasons to postpone

Mitigation of these assaults.

[1] So think M. Comte, Mr. F. W. Newman, and many others, regardless of the fact, conceded even by Mr. W. J. Fox (*Religious Ideas*, p. 65), that in the very oldest records, 'we often find symptoms of a more distinct conception of Divine grandeur and infinity than prevailed in later ages.' Alex. von Humboldt (*Cosmos*, II. 113) seems to shrink from expressing any positive opinion either way; and yet instances of tribes *relapsing* into a savage and almost brutal state are not unfrequent; *e.g.* the Bushmen of Southern Africa.

[2] Thus Mr. Theodore Parker (*Discourse*, &c., p. 75) acknowledges 'the identity of the human race,' which refers, however, to ideas and sentiments common to mankind, without implying, in his opinion, the doctrine of a common origin. He also admits that the view in favour of *several* originating pairs is equally without any direct historical proof. It is afterwards added: 'No one can determine what was the primitive state of the human race, or when, or where, or how mankind, at the command of God, came into existence. Here our conclusions can be only negative,' (p. 76): *i.e.* after we have rejected the evidence of the Bible and extinguished the traditions of the ancient world, we find ourselves in utter darkness.

CHAP. II. their judgment on the subject.[1] Modern science has in fact materially contributed, in this case also, to revive the lustre and to vindicate the truth of revelation. She has wrested from the grasp of unbelief a number of its choicest weapons, and has wielded them against itself with irresistible effect.

Reasons of the change.

In the first place, Cuvier,[2] by a series of historical and geological researches, proved that man has not been very long an occupant of the earth; that none of the existing varieties can trace their origin beyond the point at which the Bible seems to place the introduction of the human species; and, therefore, that the modern theory of 'creative laws,' acting by 'myriads of ages,' is adverse to the facts of history and the phenomena of science. Mr. Lyell[3] rendered similar service to the cause of Christian truth, when he demolished the analogous theory of Lamarck, which represented man as one of numerous links in a graduated chain of beings, successively developed into higher stages; his bodily organism being a modification of the ape, and his mental prerogatives

[1] Niebuhr, for example, (*Lect. on Ancient History*, I. 6, Lond. 1852) evades the consideration of the main problem in the following passage: 'Whether all nations were originally of different origin and belonged to different races, or whether their original identity were changed in form and language by a series of miracles, these are questions which do not belong to ancient history; and we must leave to others to discuss them. Without a direct and minute revelation from God, we *cannot arrive at any certain results on these points*, and in reference to them the Book of Genesis cannot be considered as a revelation.' William von Humboldt seems to have hesitated in like manner to the very close of his life (see Chev. Bunsen's *Outlines of the Philosophy of Universal History*, I. 59, 60, Lond. 1854); but his illustrious brother, the author of *Cosmos*, obviously inclines to the hypothesis of unity: see I. 351, Sabine's edition.

[2] *Essay on the Theory of the Earth*, ed. Jameson, §§ 30 sq.

[3] *Principles of Geology*, III. 4 sq. 6th ed.: cf. Prof. Sedgwick's *Discourse on the Studies of the University of Cambridge*, Pref. pp. xviii. sq. 5th. ed.

no more than the expanded form of faculties which he enjoys in common with the brute creation. But what has tended most of all perhaps to silence the objections of the anti-christian 'philosophers,' are the strange affinities which have been brought to light by the investigations of comparative philology. When India fell into the hands of Britain, and a class of enterprising scholars, headed by Sir William Jones, began to work the precious mines of history which that conquest opened to the western world; it was established that the 'Aryan' race beyond the Indus spoke a language fundamentally akin to that of Germany and England. Other languages in which affinity had hitherto been unsuspected, were also found to range themselves within the same group; an Aryan, or Indo-European, family was constituted; and as the new principles of classification were extended into wider regions, it grew obvious that all known varieties of human language, once a dreary chaos, were reducible into a small number of harmonious groups; while in these groups themselves, some evidence was thought to be detected of a radical connexion, such as leads to the belief that all are only modifications of an older and more general type.

Meanwhile a different process had been leading to the same result. Comparative physiology was moving hand in hand with comparative philology. The skill and industry of Blumenbach[1] in that department, served to shew that in respect of their physical structure and the laws of their animal

[1] His great work is entitled *De Generis Humani varietate nativa*, Gotting. 1775: but his examination and comparison of skulls proceeded until 1828.

CHAP. II. œconomy, the varieties of the human race are in like manner all reducible to a very few groups; and Prichard,[1] by a happy combination of these sciences, was able to push forward the great problem, and, as some imagined, went so far as to establish the original oneness of the human family.

Several lines of proof must, therefore, be regarded as converging to the point in question:—(1) the Scriptural, (2) the Psychological, (3) the Physiological, (4) the Philological.

1. *Scriptural Proof.*

I should have judged it quite superfluous to insist upon this head in dealing with avowed assailants of dogmatic Christianity; but there is reason to believe that several persons who revere the Bible as in some degree a supernatural record, strenuously deny the derivation of the human family from one single pair.

Objections. Thus, when Professor Agassiz[2] is reminded of St. Paul's assertion, that 'God hath made of one blood[3] all nations of men, for to dwell on all the face of the earth' (Acts xvii. 26), his answer is, that this 'figurative expression applies to the higher unity of mankind, and not to their supposed genital connexion by natural descent.' He also argues that the Book of Genesis, to which allusion is here made by the apostle, 'must be considered as relating chiefly to the history of the *white* race, with special reference to the history of the Jews.'

[1] See his *Researches into the Physical History of Mankind*, 3rd ed.

[2] See his contribution to the *Christian Examiner* (American), July, 1850, pp. 135—137. This periodical is an organ of the Boston Unitarians.

[3] A second reading, adopted by Lachmann, omits *αἵματος* altogether.

Answers.

Now both these statements seem to me most arbitrary and evasive. (1) Until it has been shewn that such expressions as 'made of blood' are used to signify any species of relation or descent, save that of natural generation,[1] we are scarcely justified in seeking for a figurative import. St. Paul there told the men of Athens, among whom polytheism had grown into a sort of passion, that God was really one, the single Lord, the absolute Creator of the universe. He next proceeded to announce the great correlative truth, that God has left an image of His own oneness in the oneness of humanity; and that this fact was certified by the production of the human species from one common stock.[2] All nations were declared to be His offspring; since they all were sons of Adam, 'which was the son of God' (Luke iii. 38).

(2) The second argument is equally unfounded, inconsistent with the general tenour of the sacred narrative, the statements of particular texts, and all the varied prophecies of redemption. Who in reading the Book of Genesis, without a theory in his eye, is likely to suspect that he is tracing out the origin and early fortunes of one section of the human race?

[1] The only 'higher unity' connecting men together, is the spiritual nature they derive in common by regeneration from Christ, the New Head of humanity: but this birth is most expressly said to be 'not of blood' (*αἱμάτων*), John i. 13. Neither, as St. Paul instructs us elsewhere, could it be predicated of all men indiscriminately; for according to him the unconverted Gentiles (Eph. iv. 17, 18) are still 'alienated from the life of God through the ignorance that is in them.'

[2] See Neander's excellent paraphrase (*Planting*, I. 192, Lond. 1851). 'In the polytheistic standing-point,' he adds (*note*), 'a knowledge of the unity of human nature is wanting, because it is closely connected with a knowledge of the unity of God:' and when it is remembered how the Athenians boasted that they were *αὐτόχθονες*, the drift of St. Paul's observation is still more obvious. Cf. on the whole of this wonderful speech Baumgarten, *Acts of the Apostles*, II. 157 sq. Edinb. 1854.

CHAP. II. Our first mother was herself called Eve, because (the sacred penman has been careful to inform us) 'she was the mother of all living' (Gen. iii. 20): and whenever it was subsequently foretold how the disasters that had overwhelmed her progeny should terminate on the appearance of some Great Deliverer, every nation from the rising of the sun to the going down thereof, all tribes, wherever scattered and however brutalised, are said to be the objects whom He comes to bless and rescue, to exalt and reunite. And with this view the writings of the New Testament entirely correspond. Adam is there represented as a 'caput gentis,' whose descendants constitute the self-same race that has been reconstructed in the second Adam.[1] 'As by the disobedience of the one (τοῦ ἑνὸς), the many (οἱ πολλοὶ) were made sinners, so by the obedience of the one shall the many be made righteous' (Rom. v. 19). 'As in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive' (1 Cor. xv.

[1] When Mr. F. W. Newman calls in question the oneness of the human family, and asks what in that case 'becomes of St. Paul's parallel between the first and second Adam, and the doctrine of headship and atonement founded on it;' a writer in the *Quarterly Review* (No. cxc. p. 474, note) attempts to meet the difficulty by replying that, 'even if mankind had not descended from a single pair, the truths laid down by St. Paul in the passage referred to would be untouched; for when he speaks of all men as *dead in Adam*, he is speaking of Adam as the representative of human nature in its natural and fallen state.' But such interpretation of St. Paul's language seems to me unjustifiable. Adam is affirmed to be the origin of death to all men, just as strictly as our blessed Lord is the origin of life (1 Cor. xv. 21, 22); and unless it be contended that in St. Paul's teaching Christ is only the *representative* of redeemed humanity, and not the actual bringer-in of the redemption, Adam must be also far more than a representative; see Rom. v. 19, where the parallelism is most remarkable. I ought to add, however, that the *Quarterly Reviewer* does not admit the truth of Mr. Newman's hypothesis. He holds that scientific research *has* established 'the extreme probability' of a single origin for all the human family.

22). In Him the course of degradation that commenced with Adam, and was tending to dissever man from man, and one community from another, is arrested and reversed. Humanity has found a second Head, a nobler Representative: it is generically born again in Christ; and, therefore, all the individual members of the species, Jew or Greek, barbarian, Scythian, bond or free, are made susceptible of Christian influences. 'Go ye,' was the charge of Him, who is the 'Second Man,' 'the Lord from Heaven,' (Mark xvi. 15,) 'Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature' (*πάσῃ τῇ κτίσει*); 'for we know,' writes the Apostle (Rom. viii. 22,) 'that the whole creation (*πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις*) groaneth and travaileth in pain together until now.' CHAP. II.

2. *Psychological Proof.*

This argument depends entirely on the fact that, notwithstanding every minor variation in feeling or capacity, in taste or temperament, by which we are enabled to distinguish one people from another, there are certain moral, spiritual, and mental elements, inherent in humanity itself, and underlying all the national types and local characteristics. At first indeed, when our attention is directed to the subject, a picture meets us not of unity but of diversity. We everywhere encounter groups of human beings, each betraying some peculiar tendencies, with manners as dissimilar as their physical conformation; with intellectual habits, indicating all degrees of power and culture; with sentiments, in one case, harsh and barbarous, in a second, gentle, tender, and refined:—a

CHAP. II. class of variations warranting, as we might judge, the supposition that each separate group is radically independent, and has always formed an independent species. But more thoughtful observation leads us to abandon this hypothesis as crude and superficial. It enables us to see that very many of these wide diversities exist at present, and have long existed in the same country, being multiplied in homogeneous populations, or at least in populations where the race of men has been comparatively unaffected by foreign admixtures. Some diversity, therefore, is not utterly incompatible with unity of origin; and thus we are admonished to carry our analysis still deeper, in the hope of separating what is merely special in the mind of man or accidental in the phases of society, from broader and more fundamental characteristics. To the latter class we shall most reasonably assign whatever has been held in common by the various families of nations, be their state of culture what it may; those great specific properties of mankind, the aspirations, faculties, and sentiments, which have in every period been distinguishing the human from the brute creation.

Mental and moral properties common to man.

Men are like each other, and unlike the rest of animated nature, not only as endowed with similar feelings and affections, or impelled by similar appetencies and aversions, but as speaking, reasoning, and reflecting creatures. Wheresoever man is, there we find these marks of his superior dignity. No depths of barbarism have yet been able to obliterate them, however much their brilliance may at times be clouded, or their sphere of action circumscribed. Or look at man as a *progressive* being, when he differs

toto cœlo from the lower animals. The progress has indeed been slow in certain cases where the soil was uncongenial, or the civilising agents inefficient: but experience teaches us that some advance is uniformly possible; that in the breasts of all men there are latent and mysterious faculties; that all are capable of passing gradually into the higher stages of existence, and readily adapting themselves to novel circumstances and conditions. If we grant that in so far as our domestic instincts are concerned, a parallel is found among the other orders of creation, it is no less obvious, that wherever such exist in man, their character is uniform, their operation is identical: while in that loftier province of his being, where he is immediately connected with the 'God of the spirits of all flesh,' the traces of a common nature are peculiarly discernible. It is a fact that all varieties of men exhibit the same kind of spiritual perceptions, much as these may vary both in sensibility and clearness: all are actuated by sentiments of awe and deference to superior genii, blunted though these be, alike in savage and in civilised communities: all are able to appreciate high and noble deeds, and are susceptible of generous impulses: while all are gifted with the faculty of rising out of their subjection to the influence of the senses, and believe in some hereafter. Even where the human type is lowest, where it reaches the extreme of degradation, bordering almost on brutality, as, for example, in the natives of Australia; the philanthropist is, notwithstanding, cheered by frequent glimpses of the same distinctive nature, and enabled to detect at least the groundwork of a desecrated temple.

CHAP. II.

Universal response to the appeals of Christianity.

And if this general correspondency of mind and heart is tending to establish that all members of the human species constitute but one great family, much more is such connexion vindicated by presentiments which all of them alike evince in favour of the Christian faith. Wherever it has penetrated, the Good Shepherd's voice is heard, and wakes an echo in the consciences of men; and what in every case attracts them to His fold, is also that which makes them truly conscious of the universal brotherhood subsisting in all nations. With the sole exception of Muhammadanism,—a heresy that drew its dogmas and its very life-blood from Revealed Religion,—we shall find that all the systems of the ancient world were limited in their design and local in their range. They were the images of separate nationalities; they issued from within; they represented special modes of thought and harmonised with states of feeling and imagination that prevailed in certain districts: but with Christianity the case was altogether different. It came fresh from God: it rested on a series of objective revelations: it was active and diffusive as the light, and all-embracing as the firmament of heaven: it dealt with man as man, and never faltered in its claim to be regarded as a veritable 'world-religion.'

Obstacles it doubtless met with in appealing to the various tribes and nations whom it struggled to convert; yet few if any of these obstacles can fairly be ascribed to idiosyncrasies arising from diversity of race. The Hebrews, among whom the Gospel was indigenous, became ere long its most implacable opponents; and at present when it is accepted by the bulk of the Germanic nations, other members of the

Indo-European family have manifested no peculiar warmth in their appreciation of its offer. It knows, in truth, of no distinctions in the pedigree of human souls, because it is the one religion, *the* religion of mankind. Accordingly it reaps in every soil a harvest of conversions. Heralds of the doctrine of the cross had scarcely issued from their lowly birth-place in Judæa, when they found a welcome in the neighbouring states, and even in the capitals of pagan Greece and Rome. They taught both intellectual and imperial masters of the age to bow before the simple majesty of evangelic truth. They civilised the rude but manly nations of the north. They penetrated far into the plains of Central Asia. They discoursed as freely and effectively in tents of wandering tribes, as in the schools and temples of the land of Egypt. And though century after century expired, the Gospel shewed no symptom of decay or imbecility; it was adapted, as at first, to the necessities of every climate, to the temperament of every 'race,' and all the varied phases of society. CHAP. II.

Nor at the present day are we without examples of this universal fitness. The families of Western Africa, including that which some have deemed a separate and originally lower type of man, are daily proved to be convertible, are folded in the Christian Church, and are invested with the Christian character. The warlike tribe of the Zulus in Southern Africa, the crouching Dyaks on the coasts of Borneo, multitudes of South-sea islanders, who form together an assemblage of the greatest physical variations, are all yielding to the same appeals; while in New Zealand, where but thirty years ago the natives were ferocious

CHAP. II. cannibals, the scourge of neighbouring islands, and the terror of the British seaman who was driven to their shores, we now behold a population almost as generally Christian as our own. The chiefs and people vie together in their zeal for the advancement of religion, and exhibit all that catalogue of virtues which distinguish the regenerate nature, 'love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance.'

But in urging facts like these to prove the radiation of the human family from one common point, we meet with some objections:

Objections answered.

(1) It is said, for instance, that identity of disposition may exist without implying an identity of origin.[1] Thus in the large group of cats, including the leopard, tiger, lion, and other species, the same general temperament and habits are everywhere observable, and yet it is alleged such animals were originally made to constitute distinct varieties. To this it is sufficient to reply that man, as we may gather from the faculties of speech and reason, from his moral susceptibilities, his spiritual nature, and his vast capacity of progress, must be treated as a being *sui generis;* or, at least, that where differences like these exist we are not justified in reasoning so completely to his case from that of the inferior animals. It is not of course denied that with regard to what are called the animal appetencies and aversions of his nature, and even to one class of sensuous habits, such analogy may be adduced with justice, and pursued into its consequences. But in doing this, we must

[1] This argument is also urged by Professor Agassiz, as above, p. 118.

not overlook the fact that all varieties of men are far more intimately related than the class of animals in question. The various *species* of the feline genus either intermingle very seldom, or evince a strong repugnance to such union. If hybrids be occasionally produced, and if they threaten by their propagation to commence an intermediate or degenerate race of animals, the wayward tendency is soon arrested by their absolute sterility; and thus the species do not lose their original characteristics. On the other hand, such intermixtures are both possible and permanent among the different families of man. The 'races' which are thought to be peculiarly distinct from each other (the 'Caucasian' and the negro), are most ordinary examples of this law; alliances between them issuing in a fruitful progeny, and what is specially worthy of remark, the nobler type ere long predominating and absorbing the degraded.[1]

(2) It has also been contended that even were we at liberty to assume that the genus *homo* has only one species, *i. e.* to assume that no specific variety exists among the different tribes of man, this fact would never justify us in determining the derivation of all mankind from one single pair; for 'similar causes,' it is urged, 'operating on two or more points of the globe under similar circumstances would necessarily produce similar results.'[2] But surely it is far more philosophical to prefer the simpler of two

[1] Chev. Bunsen, *Phil. of Universal History*, II. 108, where the writer adds: 'Nature always tends towards perfection, and the image of God, hidden under deviations from the perfect type, returns, *jure postliminii*, as soon as outward impediments are removed.'

[2] This argument, which has become very current, is so stated in Mr. Blackwell's edition of Mallet's *Northern Antiquities*, p. 25.

CHAP. II. hypotheses, where it will adequately explain the various phenomena of any given question; in other words, it is unworthy of a thoughtful mind to advocate the notion of 'similar causes' and 'similar circumstances,' when the facts before us do not call for such plurality. The spread of population and the present variations in the human species can be perfectly interpreted without this multiplying of productive centres. 'Nothing short of necessity,' to quote a modern writer,[1] whom we shall not readily convict of superstitious deference to the letter of the Old Testament, 'should induce us to seek for an autochthony in different parts of the globe, which would break the ties of blood-relationship that bind all men together; and so far are we from being able to point out any necessity in this case, that all the attainable evidence clearly points in the opposite direction.'

3. *The Physiological Proof.*

The axiom I have just advanced respecting the preference always due to simple hypotheses, will equally apply to this division of the argument. The chief authorities for conducting it are Blumenbach and Prichard, whose laborious researches into the physical history of man will ever be esteemed[2] among

[1] Dr. Donaldson, *New Cratylus*, 2nd ed. p. 100.

[2] See for instance, Dr. Wiseman's *Lectures on the Connexion between Science and Revealed Religion*, Lect. III, IV. Lond. 1836, and Carpenter's *Principles of Human Physiology*, pp. 55 sq. Lond. 1846. 'Up to the present moment,' adds the Chevalier Bunsen, in speaking also of Prichard's great work, 'there exists no book which treats that question with equal depth and candour:' as above, I. 48. Some additional facts have been more recently collected in Smyth's *Unity of the Human Races*, New York, 1850.

Explanation of physiological varieties.

the richest contributions to the study of our present subject. They have shewn that animals acknowledged to form one species will, under the adventitious influences of domestication, climate, and the like, divide into a number of subordinate varieties; and thus establish a presumption that at least in respect of all the functions of his animal œconomy, man will undergo a similar modification. They have shewn that distinctions in the families of men are not so strongly marked, so uniform or permanent as exist in any given tribe of animals. They have shewn that all diversities insensibly pass into each other by graduated shades of difference, and what is still more remarkable, that hardly any specimen can be adduced in which the actual transition is not capable of historical proof. Examples have been multiplied to shew that with regard to human skeletons and crania in particular, the conformation is substantially the same in all types of man; while deviations from the nobler types all range themselves within comparatively narrow limits, and present so many intermediate forms as to render the transition very gradual from one case to another. Similar results have flowed from investigations into the varieties of human colour and the texture of the human hair, which had been formerly regarded as the most abiding characteristics of a race, and are at present vaunted by the friends of slavery and the adversaries of Revealed Religion. Colour is now proved to vary in a great degree with the peculiarities of climate; while 'woolly' hair is only one extreme gradation in a large scale of varieties, and is no longer to be treated as the necessary concomitant of a black skin and negro features.[1]

[1] *Cosmos*, I. 352.

CHAP. II. These statements, however, have not been suffered to pass on without a challenge. Prichard's work is far from popular in some districts of America; and two zealous writers,[1] bent as it would seem on proving at all hazards that the negro type of man is radically distinct from others, have been labouring hard for years to undermine the truth of man's original unity by various artifices. While the great majority of thoughtful Germans are at length persuaded that 'the unity of the human species is a fact established as firmly as the unity of any other animal species,'[2] that conclusion is repudiated in the strongest terms by Messrs. Nott and Gliddon.

Objection I. (1) One of their objections which they urge in common with Agassiz is, that the analogy between the human and other animated species, requires us to assign to the varieties of men as well as to the different animals an origin according with their present geographical distribution.

Answer. But to this it may be answered, that even if we should allow that different species of animals were all created each within some zoological district of its own

[1] Both these gentlemen have long distinguished themselves by the emphasis with which they speak and write on this subject (see Smyth, p. 110), but their chief work has not been long before the public. Its title is: '*Ethnological Researches*, based upon the Ancient Monuments, Painting, Sculptures, and Crania of Races, and upon their Natural, Geographical, Philosophical, and Biblical History, &c... by J. C. Nott, M.D., and George R. Gliddon, &c. Philadelphia, 1854.' A large portion of it is devoted to attacks on what is called the Mosaic chronology. The authors also dwell upon some recent 'facts' supplied as they maintain by geology and palæontology, especially the discovery of human fossils in the peninsula of Florida. These they urge are fatal to received ideas respecting the date of man's creation. But neither of the latter topics falls within the scope of the present chapter. See an examination of the authors' statements in the *British Quarterly*, No. XLIII. pp. 1 sq.

[2] In Bunsen, as above, I. 352.

—a point which those who make the statement cannot *prove*,—it would by no means follow of necessity that men were also first of all located in the regions which they now inhabit. This argument again is guilty of neglecting all the higher properties of man: it deals with him as nothing more than a variety of animal life. Besides, the facts of history are themselves irreconcilable with the supposed analogy. The tribes of man *are* found to emigrate, and, after some few generations, flourish equally in very different climates. For example, the aborigines of the American continent itself, comprising tribes of very different grades of civilisation, from the Esquimaux of the polar regions to the Aztecs of Mexico, are now acknowledged, even by the opponents of our theory, to be strictly homogeneous, *i. e.* scions of one parent stock. Of course, it is conceivable that adaptations do exist and have existed always in the human organisation, fitting this or that variety of man for some peculiar province. It is also possible that like beneficent arrangements were already in process of formation and development anterior to the date of the earliest emigrations. Such marks of fitness every true philosopher is always ready to examine and appreciate; but he nevertheless demurs to the assumption that the human species had no power of self-accommodation to diversities of climate, and no buoyancy enabling men to rise almost indefinitely beyond the limits of their primitive condition. CHAP. II.

(2) It is alleged against one of Prichard's main positions, that the principal types of the human species have *not* been variable, but that, on the contrary, as far as records will enable us to go, the *Objection* II.

CHAP. II. broader characteristics of man's physical organisation have been absolutely fixed and inelastic.

Answer. A favourite illustration of this argument is borrowed from Egyptian excavations, where monuments are said to prove that in the very earliest dawn of history the great distinctions that exist between the negro and the white man are quite as strongly marked as at the present day.[1] Unfortunately, so long as the enigmas of Egyptian chronology remain unsolved, we have no hope of ascertaining the precise dates of the inscriptions here referred to. Some are placed as early as the older Pharaohs, and one is cited as belonging to a most remote antiquity.[2] If we are justified in drawing any inference from these remains[3]

[1] See Morton's *Crania Egyptiaca*, p. 66; Smyth, *Unity of the Human Races*, p. 40.

[2] The authority for this statement is a communication made to Mr. Gliddon by Lepsius, in whose opinion negroes are mentioned at Sakkara by the name of KESH, on monuments of the sixth dynasty, B.C. 3000: see Hamilton, *The Pentateuch and its Assailants*, p. 277, and 'postscript,' p. 338: Edinb. 1852.

[3] Hamilton, as above, p. 315, note; cf. Prichard, II. 346 sq.; Wiseman, I. 153 sq. See Prichard, III. 227 sq.: from the evidence cited it must be concluded that 'the subjects of the Pharaohs had something in their physical character approximating to that of the negro' (p. 230). Still considerable diversity existed, as to figure and complexion, among the old Egyptians. One was μελαγχρώς, another μελίχρως. In Smith's *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Geogr.*, art. ÆGYPTUS (p. 38) it is contended that, notwithstanding the dark hue of the Egyptians, they 'were not a negro race,—a supposition contradicted alike by osteology, and by monumental paintings, where negroes often appear, but always either as tributaries or captives..... The Egyptians may be said to be intermediate between the Syro-Arabian and Ethiopic type; and as at this day the Copt is at once recognised in Syria by his dark hue, the duskier complexion—brown, with a tinge of red—of the ancient Egyptians may be ascribed solely to their climate, and to those modifying causes which, in the course of generations, affect both the osteology and the physiology of long-settled races.' 'Im Grossen und Ganzen,' says Knobel (pp. 277, 278), 'gehörten die Aegypter zur dunkelfarbigen Abtheilung der Erdbevölkerung.' Yet he continues, 'Diese Angaben machen jedoch die Aegypter noch nicht zu rabenschwarzen und wollhaarigen Negern.'

it is in favour of the clear distinctness of the negro and the old Egyptian families at a very early period. Yet no evidence whatever is furnished by this fact against the doctrine of their common origin. *How soon* the various types of man had been developed, whether variations did not actually exist to some degree among the sons of Noah,[1] is a question wrapt, and likely to continue wrapt, in utter mystery. Science freely grants that she has no ability to solve it;[2] and the Christian therefore may repose in his belief that men are really one species, till the scriptural narrative has been discredited by arguments more cogent and conclusive than the advocates of slavery have as yet extracted from Egyptian hieroglyphics.

4. *The Philological Proof.*

By following out his principles of classification, Blumenbach concluded that the human species is

[1] This supposition may perhaps receive encouragement from the fact that two at least of the sons of Noah bear names expressing a distinctive colour. Thus *Ham*, of which the root is found alike in the Semitic (חָמַם) and the Coptic (chame), signifies 'hot,' 'sunburnt,' 'black,' *Japhet* (יֶפֶת from יָפָה) in like manner signifies 'beauty' referring more especially to fairness of complexion: cf. Knobel, *Die Völkertafel der Genesis*, Giessen, 1850, pp. 239, 22, 13. It is further probable that any original difference of type in the family of Noah would be very rapidly developed: for as Dr. Carpenter observes (*Principles of Human Physiology*, p. 53, Lond. 1846), 'there would be a greater tendency to the perpetuation of these varieties, in other words, to the origination of distinct races, during the earlier ages of the history of the race, than at the present time, when in fact, by the increasing admixture of races which have long been isolated, there is a tendency to the *fusion* of all these varieties, and to a return to a common type.'

[2] See the language of the great anatomist, Johannes Müller, in Humboldt's *Cosmos*, I. 352, 353; and cf. Mr. Parker's admission, above, p. 49, n. 2.

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divisible into three primary and two secondary varieties (Caucasian, Mongolian, American, Ethiopian, and Malay). Prichard distributed them afresh into seven classes (Iránian, Turánian, American, Hottentots, Negroes, Papuas, and Alfourous); while others have since raised the number as high as eleven, conceiving that there is no middle ground between this classification and the reduction of them all to one. But as the question was more fully canvassed, thoughtful writers found it quite impossible even from a physiological point of view, 'to recognise in the groups thus formed any true typical distinction, any general and consistent natural principle.'[1] They all were felt to be conventional, vague, and artificial; tending thus in no small measure to enforce the supposition that all human forms were only modifications of a single species. And the same results are flowing from the generalisations of philology. The two inquiries should indeed be kept as independent as possible, because we are not warranted in affirming that the classification of language will ever strictly coincide with the classification of physiology. The variations in the structure of the human frame may *not* have taken place concurrently with the confusion and disruption of human language; and, therefore, we are unable to predict that all who carried with them kindred elements of speech would be distinguished by the same varieties of physical organisation. Still the labours of philology, by disentangling the perplexities in which the subject is involved, all point us to a few grand sources, out of which the various languages of man may have originally welled.

[1] *Cosmos*, I. 353.

Classification of human languages.

According to Bopp's arrangement,[1] which he based on purely philological considerations, the division ought to be tripartite: (1) Languages with monosyllabic roots, but incapable of composition, and therefore without grammar or organisation; (2) Languages with monosyllabic roots which are susceptible of composition, and in which the grammar and organisation depend entirely on this; (3) Languages which consist of dissyllabic verbal roots, and require three consonants in the vehicles of their fundamental signification. The second and third of these classes are known to scholars as the Aryan, or Indo-European, and the Aramaic, or Semitic. From the circumstance that persons speaking these languages have always occupied a high position in the history of mankind, our knowledge of them is considerable, and nearly all their properties are fully analysed in works of modern scholars.

Such, however, cannot be affirmed of members of the group which Bopp arranges first in his classification. That group is meant to comprehend all other languages of man,—those, namely, in Europe, Asia, and Africa, which are not included in the second and third groups, together with the various aboriginal dialects of America. As a first approximation to more systematic treatment, Mr. Max Müller[2] has proposed to form a separate class, which he entitles the Turánian, making it to comprehend all European, Asiatic, and Polynesian languages, that do not harmonise either with the Aryan or Semitic type. Of

[1] See *Comparative Grammar*, I. 102, 103; Lond. 1856.

[2] See his able report on the 'Last results of the Researches respecting the Non-Irânian and Non-Semitic Languages of Asia or Europe,' in Bunsen, as above, I. 263—486.

CHAP. II. this Turánian group the principal branches are Tungusic, Mongolic, Turkic, and Finnic in the north, Taïc, Malaïc, Bhotîya, and Tamilic in the south; it being confessed, however, that they cannot offer such distinctive traits of family-likeness, as we find among the members of the other groups. They are rather like so many 'radii diverging from a common centre,' than 'children of a common parent.'[1]

But supposing such affinities to be established, supposing that we are not under the necessity of admitting different independent beginnings in structure and lexicography for the elements of the Turánian, as we certainly are not for those of the Semitic and Aryan branches, what is to be said of the sporadic languages in Africa and America, which have not hitherto been definitely placed in any of these groups? Are they spontaneous products of the several regions where they flourish? or are they really connected with the languages of Europe and Asia, though the links of union be now lost? The latter supposition is not only more probable on ethnological and traditional grounds, but has received distinct corroboration from researches of the present day.[2] The native languages of North-America, it is stated, are not only uniform in their grammatical type, as had been long

[1] Mr. Max Müller's 'Last Results of the Researches, &c.', as before, I. 478.

[2] The Government of the United States are now printing, under the editorship of Mr. Schoolcraft, a series of volumes containing *Historical, and Statistical Information respecting the History, Condition, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes.* According to the report of the Chevalier Bunsen 'the linguistic data before us, combined with the traditions and customs, and particularly, with the system of pictorial or mnemonic writing (first revealed in this work), enable me to say, that the Asiatic origin of all these tribes is as fully proved as the unity of family among themselves:' as before, II. 112.

acknowledged, but exhibit many clear analogies to the Turánian forms of Northern Asia; thus according with a supposition, which is rendered probable on other grounds, that the elements of American population were all transported from that quarter. Many interesting results have also been obtained from recent investigations into the languages of Africa,[1] the general tendency of which suggests the grouping of them with Semitic and Turánian idioms, and connects the spread of population over that continent, partly with the northern states that border on Abyssinia, and partly with the southern tribes in which the Káfir dialects prevail.

Are these three groups reducible to one?

The arduous question now remaining for philologers is this: to ascertain if, when the individual languages have been arranged in groups, the groups themselves be also capable of reduction under one primordial group; or rather to establish, if not the absolute confluence of all languages to one common source, at least the *possibility* of their original divergence from one common center. Those of which we are best able to affirm the nature and affinities all indicate the table-land of Upper Asia[2] as the birth-

[1] Bunsen, II. 115 sq. The same writer draws attention (p. 114) to the fact established by William von Humboldt that most of the Polynesian languages are connected with the Malay, *i. e.* are capable of being classed with the Turánian group. But whether the remark can be extended to the Papua languages spoken in Australia, New Guinea, &c., is not yet ascertained.

[2] I would here draw attention to the confidence with which Sir William Jones pronounces on this subject. After expressing his belief in the more than human origin of the Mosaic narrative, he adds: 'It is no longer probable only, but it is absolutely certain, that the whole race of man proceeded from Irán, as from a centre, whence they migrated at first in three great colonies; and that those three branches grew from a common stock which had been miraculously preserved in a general convulsion and inundation of this globe:' *Works*, I. 137. Lond. 1799. Cf. A. Fr. Gfrörer, *Urge-*

CHAP. II. place of the civilisation they were instrumental in communicating to other districts. Starting therefore from this point we may perhaps divine the general course of man's migrations into Europe and Asia, and the nature of the process by which tribes were gradually separated from each other in the various provinces of the earth. The earliest emigrants may have proceeded eastward into China, since the language of that country is least of all organic in its structure and the least developed of Turánian tongues. But as like impulses were constantly at work, new colonies would be continually projected till a layer of population had been actually expanded over many parts of Europe and Asia.[1] It is also easy to con-

schichte des menschlichen Geschlechts, Schaffhausen, 1855, who also recognises the truthfulness of the Hebrew narrative respecting the dispersion of the human family. The same may be affirmed of Knobel's learned work *Die Völkertafel der Genesis*, cited above for although he favours what is called the document-hypothesis, professing to ascribe the 10th chapter of Genesis to the older (or 'Elohistic') hand, he is no less persuaded of its vast importance in all questions of ethnography. 'Die Stammväter' (he writes, p. 9) 'sind mythische Personen, während die von ihnen abgeleiteten Völker geschichtlich sind.'

[1] Rawlinson, *Early Hist. of Babylonia* (Journal of the Royal As. Soc. xv. 232) has recently made the following suggestions with respect to the course of the Scythic (Hamitic or Turánian) races:—'Leaving it, therefore, still a matter of speculation whether the prehistoric period may be more correctly estimated at two thousand or four thousand years; I will only remark, that it must have been during this interval that nationalities were first established; and that the aboriginal Scyths or Hamites appear to have been the principal movers in the great work of social organisation. They would seem, indeed, simultaneously or progressively to have passed in one direction by southern Persia into India; in another, through southern Arabia to Æthiopia, Egypt, and Numidia. They must have spread themselves at the same time over Syria and Asia Minor, sending out colonies from one country to Mauritania, Sicily, and Iberia; from the other, to the southern coasts of Greece and Italy. They further, probably, occupied the whole area of modern Persia, and thence proceeding to the north by Chalcis and the Caucasus, they penetrated to the extreme northern point of the European and Asiatic continents.' He adds that 'indepen-

jecture how the isolation of each tribe, and other disuniting agencies, promoted the rapid growth of different dialects, and how the progress of confusion would be expedited by the introduction of secondary formations, tending to obscure the old affinities and hide the verbal roots which all may have imported from the mother-country. But many of the early settlers appear to have been subsequently overflowed, pushed forward, or exterminated by fresh waves of population, issuing from the districts where the Aryan and Semitic idioms had been planted; since the former of these grew predominant in the north of India, and in nearly all the European continent, while the latter flourished far and wide in western Asia, and diffused itself, as some conjecture, under certain modifications, into Egypt and the north of Africa. Such, I say, was probably the course and order of these primitive migrations; yet, even had we evidence to justify us in pronouncing definitely on the subject, it would never by itself explain the vast varieties of human speech. Three families of man, or rather three original groups, in which the several members of each group possessed the means of intercommunication in the same mother-tongue, may have been either simultaneously, or in succession, parted from each other, and propelled across the continents and islands of the globe; but how these groups themselves originated is a more recondite question. In truth, as physiology, though it establish the identity of the human species, can of itself determine nothing

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Philology has not answered the question.

dently of all reference to the Scriptural record, we should still be able to fix on the plains of Shinar, as the focus from which the various lines had radiated.'

CHAP. II. as to the precise condition and the actual birth-place of the aborigines, so are the oracles of philology all silent touching what occurred before the founding of the primitive types of human speech. The question, therefore, in so far as these two sciences extend, is left enveloped in uncertainty. Among our English scholars, for example, there are many, who although persuaded that the principles which led to the formation of Indo-European and Semitic families are incontrovertible, despair of bridging over the great gulf that lies between them, so as to establish their correspondence either in organisation, in grammatical structure, or in vocabulary; and when it is further urged that both these families may be scientifically connected with the more sporadic forms of language which we call 'Turánian,' such philologers declaim against the gross injustice of the torture, and deny that the generic unity of man is demonstrable by this process. Others, on the contrary, are no less confident that the identification will be ultimately established. As the science of philology advances, they predict that more and more traces of family-likeness will be generally recognised; that radicals, which, under various changes and disguises, have survived in all these different groups of language ever since the first migrations, will be more and more readily detected; and that, while it is most unphilosophical to derive any one of these groups from the other, they will all at last be proved to have been emanations from some great primordial tongue, the leading elements of which were either broken in the lapse of time, or buried in some vast catastrophe.

Now, whatever be the issue of those learned la-

Its bearing on the truthfulness of the Bible.

bours, and whatever be the fate of these dissuasives on the one hand, or these confident predictions on the other, they give rise to a reflection of the utmost value to all Christians. The veracity of Holy Scripture, far from being weakened by them, is considerably enhanced. The Book of Genesis afforded by anticipation the best medium for explaining such linguistic phenomena. It tells us that there was in early times a great divulsion in the elements of human language, that whereas the whole earth was formerly 'of one lip' (Gen. xi. 1), the unity of speech was broken on the plain of Shinar, and the human family dispersed from thence 'upon the face of all the earth.' And as the sacred narrative does not specify the nature nor degree of this 'confusion,' it is equally reconcilable with either of the current theories of philology: it will hold its ground unshaken, whether we are led eventually to the hypothesis that the primitive language is entirely lost, or whether portions of the tangled threads survive in various languages, thus serving to connect us with the earliest fathers of mankind.

What then is the general inference to be gathered from this chapter in elucidation of our main inquiry? We may sum it up as follows:—Man is a religious being. The ideas of God, of sacrifice, of prayer, have been inwoven with his spiritual constitution, and have, therefore, always struggled for expression in his personal and social life. Approach him where you will, in England, in the tropics, or at the antipodes, and he exhibits this unfailing proof of his

CHAP. II. humanity, especially in all the sober moments, when he communes most profoundly with himself, in trouble, sorrow and perplexity, in solitude, in sickness, or when verging close upon the grave. Exactly, therefore, in proportion as we have established the unity of his origin, we have established also a presumption that the various families of man inherited from age to age a stock of sacred knowledge, and conveyed it with them in their wanderings from the cradle of the human race.

Gradual formation of heathen theologies.

But it is obvious that in beings ever liable to fall, and ever prone to substitute their speculations for the holy will of God, this great substratum of religion might in course of time be overgrown and buried; just as primitive forms of speech would disappear beneath a crop of secondary formations. The effect of individual character, of isolation, of climate, the phenomena of nature, and a host of adventitious agencies would soon be visible in the altered aspects of traditions; while a corresponding modification of the forms of social life would gradually affect the tone and sensibility of the human spirit. Where the tribe, or people, sank in moral culture, the idea of God would also be enfeebled and debased.[1] The

[1] The following confession of A. W. von Schlegel is the more remarkable, because its author was entirely influenced by the force of historical truth, and not by theological prepossessions. Here at length he was of one accord with his distinguished brother. 'Je mehr ich in der alten Weltgeschichte forsche, um so mehr überzeuge ich mich, dass die gesitteten Völker von einer reinern Verehrung des höchsten Wesens *ausgegangen sind;* dass die magische Gewalt der Natur über die Einbildungskraft des damaligen Menschengeschlechts erst später die Vielgötterei hervorrief, und endlich in dem Volksglauben die geistigen Religionsbegriffe ganz verdunkelte, während die Weisen allein im Heiligthume das uralte Geheimniss bewahrten.' *Vorrede* to the German translation of Prichard's *Egyptian Mythology*, p. xvi.

worshipper whose heart was shrinking from the presence of the High and Holy One, would speedily betake himself to more congenial objects. He would look no higher than the earth, and finding, as he grew more selfish and irreverent, that some powers of nature with which he stood connected were antagonistic to him, and opposed the gratification of his wishes, he would chiefly strive to overcome them, or would struggle to disarm their vengeance, by resorting to a multitude of exorcisms and other like devices. All his worship would eventually be nature-worship; all his prayers would take the abject form of deprecation. Or in different regions, where external nature was more joyous and propitious, and where man himself, by the development of his reflective and imaginative faculties, had gained a higher measure of intelligence; the creed of paganism would also be considerably idealised, it would become more sentimental and poetic. Its mythes would be far loftier in conception, and would all be cast in gentler moulds. The pagan worshipper might still, indeed, address his homage to the good or evil energies of nature, but no longer to a formless power or an impersonal divineness: he would fashion for himself a group of new divinities, to whom he could attribute human shapes and human properties; and thus the highest effort of this class of heathen was to bring about the deification of humanity. CHAP. II.

Their infinite variety.

But as in every case the drapery of imagination with which they clothed their gods was the spontaneous product of their own locality, the cycle of religious mythes would be indefinitely enlarged. Each town and village would give birth to fresh

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divinities, until at length it grew almost impossible in any part of heathendom to recognise the purer doctrine of the earliest ages, to distinguish even broken echoes of the first traditions, or to disentangle the few elements of primitive truth from an interminable mass of aftergrowths, which had corrupted and concealed it. So hopeless seemed the task of restoration, so remote from men's perceptions the idea of one all-ruling, all-embracing God, that, in the fourth century of the present era, when Julian and his pagan followers laboured to disparage Christianity, on the ground that it was far too modern and exclusive, they were driven to avow that a plurality of religions is inevitable, nay, is actually demanded by the diverse forms of human thought, and by the multiplicity of 'human races.'[1] And the same convictions still prevail, as we have seen, in England and elsewhere among the heralds of the Absolute Religion.

Truth and unity in the Church.

Yet, in spite of every wayward tendency of human nature, disuniting men from God, and substituting for the steadier light of old traditions, the capricious glimmerings of their own imagination; there was ever on the earth one ark of refuge, and one beacon planted on a hill. The Church of God, the keeper and the witness of the true religion, rested on a sure and stable basis, so that while the heathen were

[1] Cf. Neander, *Ch. Hist.* III. 135 sq. After some general remarks on the question of man's origin, Julian himself proceeds as follows: Ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἀρκέσει τοσοῦτον εἰπεῖν, ὡς ἐξ ἑνὸς μὲν καὶ μιᾶς οὔσιν, οὔτε τοὺς νόμους εἰκὸς ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον παραλλάξαι· οὔτε ἄλλως τὴν γῆν ὑφ' ἑνὸς ἐμπλησθῆναι πᾶσαν . . . . Πανταχοῦ δὲ ἀθρόως, νευσάντων θεῶν, ὅπερ τρόπον ὁ εἷς, οὕτω δὲ καὶ οἱ πλείους προῆλθον ἄνθρωποι, τοῖς γενεάρχαις θεοῖς ἀποκληρωθέντες: *Opp.* ed. Spanheim, I. 292.

abandoned to themselves to test the systems of their own devising, and were 'given over to a reprobate mind;' its inmates had continual access to the oracles of God,—the children of Israel had light in their dwellings. There, in what is verily the moral center of the world, midway between the principal seats of ancient civilisation, God exemplified upon a single people[1] the restoring and exalting process, under which humanity at large, when ready for the great experiment, should be cured of all its guilty wanderings and infatuations, and made one again in Christ.

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[1] Cf. Theodoret. *De Providentia*, Orat. X: *Opp.* IV. 454, Paris, 1642: Οὕτω δι' ἑνὸς ἔθνους τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, τὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχοντα φύσιν, εἰς τὴν τῆς εὐσεβείας κοινωνίαν ἐκάλει.

CHAPTER III.

On the Characteristics of Religion under the Old Testament.

Οὐδὲ γὰρ διὰ Ἰουδαίους μόνους ὁ νόμος ἦν, οὐδὲ δι' αὐτοὺς μόνους οἱ προφῆται ἐπέμποντο, ἀλλὰ πρὸς Ἰουδαίους μὲν ἐπέμποντο, καὶ παρὰ Ἰουδαίων ἐδιώκοντο· πάσης δὲ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἦσαν διδασκάλιον ἱερὸν τῆς περὶ Θεοῦ γνώσεως, καὶ τῆς κατὰ ψυχὴν πολιτείας. S. Athanasius, *contra Gentes*, cap. xii. (p. 57, ed. Benedict.)

CHAP. III. HAVING now in some measure cleared a way to our investigation, first, by pointing out the special tendencies of modern disbelief, and secondly, by undermining one of the more plausible positions which its advocates have sought to occupy, I shall proceed to ascertain the leading traits by which Revealed Religion was distinguishable in all the earlier stages of its progress. For since Christianity professes to reach backward into periods long anterior to the human lifetime of its Founder; since it claims to be most vitally connected with the Old-Testament œconomy, and since the roots from which it sprang are there; we see not only the importance, but necessity, of analysing the ideas embodied in the Hebrew institutions, of reverting to the solemn ordinances of the Law, and studying the oracular voices of the Prophets.

We shall thus be able to compare the aspects of religious thought and feeling as displayed in members of the sacred commonwealth with contemporary systems of the heathen world. If Hebraism resemble these in such a manner as to justify the inference that it was derived from any or from all of them, then Christianity, in turn, professing to have grown directly out of it, is ultimately resolvable into heathen elements. Or, if again the principles alike of Heathenism and Hebraism be nothing more than natural projections of religious instincts, mere expedients of the human understanding to escape from what is felt to be a burden and a paradox, then Christianity may also be subjective in its origin,—a fresh development of that which having issued from the human breast in ruder times, was afterwards remodelled in accordance with the riper judgments of humanity in the Augustan period. CHAP. III.

Now the two great principles of Hebraism, the poles, one might affirm, on which the system absolutely turned, were (1) the LAW, and (2) the PROMISE; that designed to keep alive the elementary idea of God, and superintend the education of the human spirit during the comparative infancy of the race; while this was occupied in opening out a brighter and more blissful future, where the limits of the Church of God would be indefinitely widened, and the happiness of all its members inexpressibly enhanced.

The non-finality of Hebraism.

For that Hebraism was never meant to be an ultimate stage in the unfolding of the true religion, is apparent from confessions and arrangements of its own sacred books. They frequently proclaim its

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non-finality.[1] The prophets, keeping pace with the spiritual development of the nation, carry on men's thoughts beyond a merely ritual service, and lay greater stress on the obedience of the heart; and in the age of the Captivity, when the observance of the Law was made to some degree impossible, 'a new covenant' is placed in actual *contrast* with the old, and dignity assigned to it which is denied to the preceding. Yet the kernel of that ancient system, —the profound relations it exhibited between Jehovah and His people, the principles that underlay its sacrifices and that breathed through all its symbols, —was imperishable. The Law was not to sink without the prospect of some glorious sublimation; it did not expire without transfusing its own life into the heart of a successor. Christianity is the legitimate offspring of the elder dispensation, because, according even to De Wette, the Old Testament 'is a great prophecy, a great type of Him who was to come and has come;'[2] because the Law in all its breadth and depth is tributary to the Gospel, and

[1] If no other text existed, Jerem. xxxi. 31 sq. as compared with Heb. viii. would be sufficient to establish this position. On the attempts of Jewish writers to evade the force of it, see Schöttgen's *Horæ Hebraicæ*, I. 969, Dresdæ, 1733. Yet one at least of the later Rabbis (Albo) distinctly recognises the temporary character of the Mosaic institute: 'When God, who is highly to be extolled, gave the Law, He knew that this form of education was sufficient for a certain period, which His wisdom had fixed, that it was sufficient to prepare those who received it, and incline their minds to receive the second form, although God has revealed this to no man; but when the time shall come, God will reveal that second form to men:' quoted in Tholuck, *On the Ep. to the Hebrews*, I. 294.

[2] See Bähr, *Symbolik des Mosaischen Cultus*, I. 16, note, Heidelberg, 1837. 'Das Christenthum,' writes Wuttke (*Gesch. des Heidenthums*, I. 18, Breslau, 1852) 'im weltgeschichtlichen Sinne *beginnt nicht* erst mit dem Auftreten Jesu Christi, sondern Christus ist der *Mittelpunkt* des Christenthums, und mit ihm bricht die schon lange vorhandene Knospe zu vollen Blüthe auf.'

because the Saviour came not to destroy, but to transfigure and complete.

Progressive character of the old œconomy.

This thought, however, of substantial identity between the old and new œconomies, has frequently been misconceived, or overstated, in the popular teaching of divines. Persuaded that the Church of God was not without her 'Acts and Monuments before Christ incarnate,'[1] zealous above all things to maintain the unity and fixity of truth, and to announce those glorious principles that give coherence to the history of redemption, they have seemed to speak of the Old Testament as though it were an absolute and perfect revelation, and have therefore laboured to evolve from it the special doctrines of the Gospel.[2] They consult it with the eyes of

[1] The title of Bp. Montague's work, published in 1642.

[2] The true distinction was, however, clearly seen even during the period when there was a strong tendency to judaize, and reduce the Gospel into a kind of 'New Law.' Thus we find a writer of the 12th century expressing himself as follows: 'Primus gradus est cognitionis fidei quo nihil minus unquam fides habere potuit: credere videlicet Deum esse et eum Salvatorem et Remuneratorem expectare. Hæc cognitio fidei simplicibus ante incarnationem Verbi ad salutem sufficere potuit, videlicet ut et Deum crederent et Salvatorem expectarent: quamvis ejusdem salvationis suæ modum et tempus non cognoscerent. Duo enim in homine tantum sunt, natura et culpa: et Creator ad naturam refertur, Salvator ad culpam. Sub lege autem scripta crevit cognitio, quando jam de persona Redemptoris manifeste agi cœpit, et Salvator per legem promitti, et post promissionem expectari. Sub gratia autem adhuc amplius excrevit cognitio, cum ipse jam Salvator, non ut prius a multis putabatur solum homo, sed et Deus verus manifestatus est. Et ipse redemptionis modus non in terrenæ culmine potestatis, sed in morte probatus est constare Salvatoris.' H. de S. Victore, *Erudit. Theolog. ex Miscellan.* Lib. I. Tit. XVIII. *Opp.* III. 73. Mogunt. 1617.

The same writer (*De Sacramentis*, lib. I. pars X. c. VI.) discusses the question, 'an secundum mutationes temporum mutata sit fides,' (*Opp.* III. 412 sq.) and concludes in the following passage: —'Crevit itaque per tempora fides in omnibus, ut major esset, sed mutata non est, ut alia esset. Ante legem, Deus creator credebatur, et ab eo salus et redemptio expectabatur; per quem vero et

CHAP. III. Christians rather than of Hebrews, and neglecting to shade off the full illumination which our Lord and the apostles turned upon it, feel themselves at liberty to urge that what is now made clear to us, must have been also luminous from the beginning. And a like forgetfulness to vary the point of view from which we contemplate the records of the Elder Church, has often issued in a disregard of those great laws of sequence and progression that characterise its general history. God, who in the Son spake once and absolutely, had communicated only parcels of the truth (πολυμερῶς), and these at various seasons, by the ministry of the prophets (Heb. i. 1). His communications then, as ever, were adapted to the exigencies of the age, and were proportioned to the receptivity of the people. For in the training of the sacred corporation, as in that of individuals under discipline, there was a gradual exercise and evolution of the spiritual powers of man,—a growth from the half-consciousness of childhood to the larger views, the deeper reasonings, the accumulated wisdom of maturity; and, therefore, it is easy to observe how,

quomodo eadem salus implenda et perficienda foret, exceptis paucis quibus hoc scire singulariter in munere datum erat, a cæteris etiam fidelibus non cognoscebatur. Sub lege autem persona Redemptoris mittenda prædicebatur, et ventura expectabatur. Quæ autem ipse persona hæc foret homo an angelus, an Deus, nondum manifestabatur. Soli hoc cognoverunt, qui per Spiritum singulariter ad hoc illuminati fuerunt. Sub gratia autem manifeste omnibus, jam et prædicatur et creditur, et modus redemptionis et qualitas personæ Redemptoris.' And similar principles were inculcated on the English nuns at the beginning of the next century: 'Nimeð god ȝeme, mine leoue sustren, uor hwi we ouh Him to luuien. Erest, ase a mon þet woweð—ase a King þet luuede one lefdi of feorrene londe, and sende hire His sondesmen biforen, þet weren þe patriarkes and þe prophetes of þe Olde Testament, *mid lettres isealed.* A last He com Him suluen, and brouhte þet gospel *ase lettres iopened*, and wrot mid His owune blode saluz to His leofmon.' *Ancren Riwle* (ed. Camden Soc. 1853), p. 388.

corresponding with this growth in the capacity of the subject, the illumination granted from on high had also passed through different stages in a measurable progress. Clearer insight into some of the great mysteries of the Cross was only the reward of patient waiting, or the fruit of tedious and (as many deem) circuitous probation;[1] while of other truths that constitute the household words of Christianity, the prophet and the saint alike were ignorant; they were left to 'inquire and search diligently' (1 Pet. i. 10), until the Pedagogue was superseded by the heavenly Teacher,[2] and 'the fulness of the times' had come. CHAP. III.

[1] The objection based upon the length of interval that elapsed between the fall of man and his redemption, is as old as Celsus and Porphyry. Leo the Great repels it in the following passage, radiant with the light of true philosophy: 'Cessent igitur illorum querelæ, qui impio murmure divinis dispensationibus obloquentes, de Dominicæ nativitatis tarditate causantur, tanquam præteritis temporibus non sit impensum, quod in ultima mundi ætate est gestum. Verbi incarnatio hæc contulit facienda (?), quæ facta (?) et sacramentum salutis humanæ in nulla unquam antiquitate cessavit. Quod prædicaverunt apostoli, hoc annunciaverunt prophetæ; nec sero est impletum, quod semper est creditum. *Sapientia vero et benignitas Dei hac salutiferi operis mora capaciores nos suæ vocationis effecit;* ut quod multis signis, multis vocibus, multisque mysteriis per tot fuerat secula prænunciatum, in his diebus Evangelii non esset ambiguum; et nativitas, quæ omnia miracula, omnemque intelligentiæ erat excessura mensuram, tanto constantiorem in nobis gigneret fidem, quanto prædicatio ejus et antiquior præcessisset et crebrior. Non itaque novo consilio Deus rebus humanis, nec sera miseratione consuluit; sed a constitutione unam eandemque omnibus causam salutis instituit. Gratia autem Dei, qua semper est universitas justificata sanctorum, *aucta est* Christo nascente *non cæpta.*' Sermo III. de Nativitate: *Opp.* p. 16, col. 1, B, Paris, 1639.

[2] Gal. iii. 24. This metaphor of St. Paul is most expressive, pointing out the true relation of the Law to the Gospel, and vindicating its claim to be regarded as an agent (though but elementary and subordinate) in the moral education of the Church. St. Chrysostom (*in loc.*) expands the same idea with great clearness:—'Ο δὲ παιδαγωγὸς οὐκ ἐναντιοῦται τῷ διδασκάλῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ συμπράττει, πάσης κακίας ἀπαλλάττων τὸν νέον, καὶ μετὰ πάσης σχολῆς τὰ μαθήματα παρὰ τοῦ διδασκάλου δέχεσθαι παρασκευάζων· ἀλλ' ὅταν ἐν ἕξει γένηται, ἀφίσταται λοιπὸν ὁ παιδαγωγός.

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With this conviction clearly present to the mind, I now purpose to examine the character of the Law, and some of the peculiar functions it was destined to perform in the continuous training of the Hebrews; not of course excluding from our survey what is termed the patriarchal dispensation, since in all its leading characteristics (those of prayer and sacrifice, for instance) it is one with the Mosaic system.

§ 1. *The Law.*

Importance of just ideas respecting God.

The moral force and grandeur of religions are in every case to be determined by the worthiness of their ideas of God, His nature and His attributes. It has been frequently remarked, that 'as man is, so is the divinity he worships;' but the converse is more rigorously correct: what God is, such His worshipper becomes. If the sacred institutes of any people manifest a disposition to obscure the unity of God, to tamper with His holiness, to waver in their statements touching His essential independence of the properties of matter or of man, that system has been incapacitated in the same proportion for directing and exalting the religious life of the community. If God be represented as no more than the stupendous aggregate of all created spirits; if divinity be ascribed to Nature as a whole, to this or that energy of nature, and to this or that ideal representative of men, no standing-ground is left for urging the intrinsic excellence of virtue: faith, love, justice, purity, and liberty itself, have no intelligible basis; they become the mere subjective forms of human sentiment and the conventionalities of human law. Or if again,

while the Creator is not actually confounded with the laws and operations of the universe, His power be notwithstanding liable to any species of constraint or limitation; if He be thwarted by some other substance, fate, or time, or matter, or chaos, or evil, it must also follow that the moral consciousness of the worshipper is wounded and distracted; he abandons the resistance he was offering to the downward tendencies of his nature; he drifts away to the conclusion, either that sin is absolutely inevitable, or that righteousness is for the present banished from the earth. CHAP. III.

The Hebrew doctrine of God:

1. Now all the teaching of the Hebrew Scriptures on these points is far above suspicion. They announce at every turn, and under every kind of illustration, the cardinal doctrine of *One, Living, Personal God, the Maker and the moral Governor of all things.* They draw the broadest possible line of demarcation between humanity and Divinity. They make the consciousness of the Creator essentially distinct from that of each and all created beings. They demand for Him the worship of the human spirit, because He is a God of unapproachable perfection, self-existent, absolutely free, and altogether righteous. Such, indeed, appears to be the foremost object of the old œconomy. Destined as it was for the instruction of an age that was peculiarly exposed to fascinations of polytheism on one side and of dualism on the other, it pointed with especial frequency to what alone was able to supply a refuge from these desolating errors,—to the doctrine of the monarchy of God.[1] While subjects which might possibly have

[1] 'To understand the nature of the Jewish œconomy, we must begin with this truth, to which every page of the five books of

CHAP. III. interfered with it in minds incapable of deep reflection are passed over, or left standing in the background, *it* is ever prominent in place and definite in expression. Instances there doubtless are in which both ancient and modern spiritualists have been offended by expressions that ascribe to God the organs, faculties, and passions of mankind. Those thinkers do not recognise the clear necessity of such expressions for communicating any definite ideas of God and His relations to the creature; but treat them as mere relics of primeval barbarism, exhorting us to soar at length above all human images, and gain a true conception of the Infinite and All-pervading. Yet, in spite of numerous cavils rising out of these anthropomorphisms, it is generally acknowledged that the Hebrew creed, for some cause or other, was pre-eminently pure and monotheistic,—a concession which, one might have fancied, also proves at least the possibility of worthy thoughts of God existing with and under figurative representations.[1] 'This must be confessed,' writes Mr. Parker,[2] 'that under the guidance of divine Providence, the great and beautiful doctrine of one God seems quite early embraced by the great Jewish lawgiver, incorporated with his national legislation, defended with rigorous enactments, and slowly communicated to the world.' How deeply, for example, is this truth inscribed on the

its peculiar sublimity.

Moses is ready to bear witness, That the separation of the Israelites was in order to preserve the doctrine of the Unity, amidst an idolatrous and polytheistic world.' Warburton, *Divine Legation*, II. 419, Lond. 1846.

[1] 'The humanity of God,' says Hengstenberg, 'had its corrective in the doctrine of His true Divinity, by which it was indefinitely exalted above all heathenism.' *Dissertations on the Genuineness of the Pentateuch*, II. 369, Edinb. 1847.

[2] *Discourse*, &c. pp. 65, 66.

Mosaic record of creation! While the heathen systems, we shall see at large hereafter, had so abandoned the true idea of God as to acknowledge the co-eternity of matter and to represent the highest object of man's worship fettered more or less by the conditions of the transitory and the limits of the mundane,[1] it was very different with the Hebrews. God was there confessed not merely as the animating principle of all things, but the sole and absolute Creator.[2] He spake and it was done. His fiat

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[1] It is here granted that isolated declarations do exist in heathen writers, affirming the essential independence of the Divine Being (cf. Archbp. Sumner's *Records of Creation*, &c. I. 123 sq., 185 sq. Lond. 1816, and Mosheim's *Dissert.* in Cudworth, III. 140 sq. Lond. 1845); yet as Baumgarten justly adds (*Acts of the Apostles*, II. 193), these declarations are no more than 'abstract ideas which do indeed convey an inkling of the truth, but possess no vital energy. The general popular notion of the gods and of their nature was stamped on their mythes, their hymns and religious ceremonies; and this view [the limitation of the Divine Being] held its way undisturbed by all the philosophical thoughts and well-meaning words that went on alongside of it.' The same remark is even more applicable to the doctrine of the *Unity* of God, which as Mr. Mackay urges (*Progress of the Intellect*, I. 133, Lond. 1850), was never entirely lost sight of, even by those who were in act polytheists. The truth is, it was so far in the background as to exercise very little practical influence: cf. Weisse, *Philosoph. Dogmatik*, I. 670 sq. Leipzig, 1855.

[2] Many writers (*e.g.* Milton, *Prose Works*, IV. 176) have stoutly denied that God, even according to the Scriptural cosmogony, created the world *out of nothing*: and whether the fact of such creation be deducible from the language of Gen. I. 1, may very fairly be disputed (see Bp. Pearson, *On the Creed*, pp. 76—84, Lond. 1842, Witsius, *Exercitationes Sacræ*, 'De Creatione,' Amst. 1697; and Hävernick, *Introd. to the Pentateuch*, p. 94, note, Edinb. 1850). Other texts, however, insist with great emphasis on the absolute sovereignty of God in the world of matter, and some of these appear totally inconsistent with the laxer theory of creation, *e.g.* Heb. xi. 3, Πίστει νοοῦμεν κατηρτίσθαι τοὺς αἰῶνας ῥήματι Θεοῦ, εἰς τὸ μὴ ἐκ φαινομένων τὸ βλεπόμενον γεγονέναι, where Bengel aptly remarks: 'Ut creatio fundamentum et specimen est omnis œconomiæ divinæ, sic fides creationis est fundamentum et specimen omnis fidei.' The tradition of the Jews to the same effect is preserved in 2 Maccab. vii. 28: Ἀξιῶ σε, τέκνον, ἀναβλέψαντα εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν, καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς πάντα ἰδόντα, γνῶναι ὅτι ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων

CHAP. III. quickened all the pulses of the universe,—and as material laws that govern it are only indications of His presence and expressions of His legislative will, so in the world at large He ever acts as on a theatre objective to Him, regulating the destinies alike of the community and of the individual spirit. And the subsequent disclosures of the Bible are in perfect harmony with what is thus recorded in the earliest pages of it. They are one continuous attestation of the unity, the personality, the righteousness of God, revealed in mandates or in prohibitions, and reiterated by the 'fiery law,' or a succession of stupendous acts. To look no further than the earliest crisis in the national history of the Hebrew race, the exodus itself was nothing but a grand religious triumph; where the majesty of God was vindicated in the presence of a people foremost in the rank of civilisation, yet peculiarly besotted by their worship of the various energies of nature. There it was that Israel also had defiled themselves with the idols of Egypt (Ezek. xx. 7); they were on the point of losing the traditions that connected them with Abraham and with the Evangelic promise; they were melting fast away into the mass of heathenism by which they were encircled, when the Lord Himself came forward to their rescue. He asserted the unrivalled greatness of His sovereignty. 'Against all

How illustrated by the Exodus:

ἐποίησεν αὐτὰ ὁ Θεὸς, καὶ τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος οὕτως γεγένηται. 'Diese Aegyptische Kosmogonie hat viele Aehnlichkeit mit der mosaischen, die ohne Zweifel aus ihr hervorgegangen; es findet sich in derselben Nichts von einem ungeordneten Chaos, wie bei Griechen und Römern; auch bei den Aegyptern ist die Welt aus Nichts geschaffen, Alles Vorhandene aus der allmächtigen Hand der schaffenden Gottheit Osiris hervorgegangen.' Uhlemann, *Thoth.* pp. 27, 28. Göttingen, 1855.

the gods of Egypt[1] I will execute judgment: I am the Lord' (Ex. xii. 12). The influences of nature He employed as agents of His mighty purpose, now restraining them with a miraculous discrimination, and now wielding them with a terrific aim for the confusion of the adversary, till ere long the ransomed multitude could chant in concert with their noble captain, 'I will sing unto the Lord, for He hath triumphed gloriously . . . Who is like unto Thee, O Lord, among the gods? Who is like Thee, glorious in holiness, fearful in praises, doing wonders? . . . Thou in Thy mercy leadest forth Thy people which Thou hast redeemed; Thou guidest them in Thy strength unto Thy holy habitation' (Ex. xv. 1, 11, 13). CHAP. III.

and in the Book of Psalms.

And the same magnificent spectacle recurs at every stage of Hebrew history. Who has not remarked amid the grandeur of the choral hymns and other lyrics of the Israelites, how the idea of God as the one Lord of all things is ever present to the writer's mind, and how the varied forms of nature are but living testimonies to the personality of their Creator! Had there been a single germ of pantheism

[1] Cf. Ex. xviii. 11, xx. 23, Numb. xxxiii. 4, Ezek. xx. 7, 8, which justify the authorized version of וּבֵאלֹהֵי מִצְרַיִם (= LXX. *καὶ ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς θεοῖς τῶν Αἰγυπτίων*). When Mr. Newman infers from texts like these (*Hebrew Monarchy*, p. 26, 2nd ed.), that 'the Hebrew creed was not monotheistic in the sense of denying the *existence* of other gods,' his language is in one respect admissible, *viz.* if it be taken to mean that the Hebrews looked upon idolatry as the work of evil spirits, and so ascribed a personality to the false object of worship. But that this idea of superhuman intelligences was never suffered to trench upon the doctrine of the Divine Unity and Omnipotence, is clear from numerous texts like Deut. iv. 39: 'the Lord he is God in heaven above and upon the earth beneath: there is none else.' In other passages where the thoughts of the writer are exclusively confined to the visible idol, he speaks of heathen gods as actually non-existent. See Is. xxxvii. 19.

CHAP. III. lurking in the Hebrew system it would doubtless have shewn itself in this class of writings, as we may infer especially from the complexion of the Védas and the hymns of ancient Greece. Yet, on the contrary, the sacred writer, notwithstanding the peculiar sensibility which he displays in picturing the rich and glowing beauties of the universe, is never tempted to invest it with the attributes of God. His poetry is 'a reflex of monotheism:' and nature comes before us 'not as self-subsisting, or glorious in her own beauty, but ever in relation to a higher, an overruling, a spiritual Power."[1]

This doctrine essentially moral.

But the God of the Old Testament is not only the most powerful Being in the universe; He is not only the Absolute, the Undefined, the Infinite, who having called the creatures out of nothing, rules them as the grand Proprietor, and doeth whatsoever pleaseth Him. This thought of God is there associated with a second. He is indeed the ELOHIM and EL SHADDAI, but He is JEHOVAH also.[2] His attributes are moral, and not merely physical. He is raised as to His essence indefinitely above the sphere of things created, yet He mingles with them as their Governor, as the Rewarder of the upright, the

[1] Humboldt's *Cosmos*, II. 44. This author instances the civth Psalm. 'Nature is conceived as having the ground of its existence in another,—as something posited, created; and this idea, that God is the Lord and Creator of Nature, leads men to regard God as the Exalted One, while the whole of Nature is only His robe of glory, and is expended in His service.' Hegel, *Phil. of Hist.* p. 204, Lond. 1857.

[2] I am here following Dr. Hengstenberg, who in his *Dissertations on the Pentateuch*, II. 213—393, has investigated the Names of God, as they occur in the Books of Moses, with singular felicity. The plural form of אֱלֹהִים, he suggests, may intimate that the true God possesses in Himself what men were disposed to divide among a plurality.

Avenger of the wronged, 'long-suffering, abundant in goodness and truth, keeping mercy for thousands, but not always pardoning the guilty.'[1] Thus the monarchy of God is ever based on righteousness; and after the selection of the Hebrew family to constitute the visible kingdom of Jehovah, and to act as conservators of the true religion in the midst of Gentilism, it is continually proclaimed that they are Israelites indeed who labour to be God-like; that such alone are properly the subjects of the Lord of hosts, and are entitled to approach the seat of His peculiar presence.[2] CHAP. III.

Example drawn from Solomon's prayer.

It is not easy to recal a passage of the Bible where these statements are more fully verified than in the prayer and benedictions uttered by king Solomon at the dedication of the temple just completed on Mount Zion (1 Kings viii.). Where, it might be urged, are we more likely to encounter gross conceptions of the nature of God's presence, or those narrow and unspiritual views of worship, which opponents of the Old Testament are in the habit of ascribing to all branches of the legal insti-

[1] See Ex. xxxiv. 6, 7, a passage which develops the great truths implied in the name JEHOVAH. The clause וְנַקֵּה לֹא יְנַקֶּה is variously interpreted, but the rendering here adopted seems most in harmony with the remainder of ver. 7: cf. Nah. i. 3.

[2] See especially Psalm xxiv, where the transition from one view of the God of Israel to the other is very remarkable. The thought of Him as the great Proprietor of the world and all that dwell therein, is made the basis of an argument for purity and reverence in the Hebrew worshipper, to whom He was pleased to reveal Himself in a peculiarly near relation. 'With other gods there may be an animal love and a favouritism for their own worshippers, without regard to their hearts and lives; but the God of Israel, who is God in the true sense of the word, cannot without absurdity be spoken of as having connexion with any except such as are of a pure heart.' Hengstenberg, *On the Psalms*, I. 417. Edinb. 1846.

CHAP. III. tute? And, yet there is no lack of testimony that the Hebrews were most truly conscious of the spirituality and universal empire of Jehovah, as well as of their own exalted mission in respect of other nations. Solomon, it is true, was penetrated by the thought that God was very near to Israel; that they were His inheritance; that He had separated them from all the people of the earth (ver. 53); that He had borne them up on eagles' wings, and brought them to Himself (Ex. xix. 4). He was no less certain that the Lord of Israel would be present with His choicest gifts and blessings to the worshippers who bent their knees and made their offerings in the precincts of the sanctuary. Yet he felt that such a national limitation was compatible with universal sovereignty: that God as to His essence was infinite and incomprehensible; that 'the heaven and heaven of heavens could not contain Him' (ver. 27); that if we ascribe to Him a special dwelling-place it is exalted far above the limits of the seen and transitory (ver. 30); that the earthly temple was symbolical of something higher, of a truer and more blissful presence; and that even the election of the Israelites itself had reference to a glorious future in the progress of the sacred family, when all the people of the earth should know, as Israel knew already, that 'the Lord is God, and that there is none else' (vers. 43, 60).

Contrast between the Hebrew and the Phœnician theology.

From such conceptions of the God of Israel, apprehended not in later periods of the Hebrew commonwealth, but as early as the first consolidation of their empire, let us turn aside and glance at the theology of a neighbouring state, whose ruler was on terms of special amity with Solomon. The Phœ-

nicians had been long the merchants and the leading colonisers of the district. Commerce tended to evolve their intellectual powers, and gave them such preponderance among the nations of the East, as had enabled them in numerous instances to propagate their civilisation and religious system,[1] and even it would seem to captivate the mind of Solomon himself.[2] Nor was the intercourse then subsisting between the courts of Sidon and Jerusalem the oldest bond of union which connected the two peoples. They were, in fact, descended from the same ancestors; the languages they spoke were dialects of the same mother-tongue; and as early as the residence in Egypt the Israelites had been acquainted with Phœnician modes of thought,

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[1] Movers, *Die Religion und die Gottheiten der Phönizier*, pp. 12 sq. Bonn, 1841. The aggressive spirit of their system is illustrated in the history of Jezebel, herself a princess of the court of Sidon.

[2] See 1 Kings xi. 5. The worship of Ashtoreth (Astarte) thus tolerated at Jerusalem was not altogether abolished till the reign of Josiah: 2 Kings xxiii. 13. An adventurous school of modern critics have indeed laboured to convince us that what they call the 'Reformation of Jehovism' in the reign of Josiah was the substitution of the worship of a Supreme God for that of the Phœnician divinities, which had till then been 'the established religion' even in the kingdom of Judah: see Mr. Mackay's *Progress of the Intellect*, II. 442. In other words, they are pleased to represent what holy Scripture tells them of the frequent lapses of the Hebrews into the idolatrous worship of their neighbours, as a proof that such apostasy was not occasional or partial, but the normal state of the nation. The unfairness of this mode of procedure is most flagrant. The Bible gives a perfectly candid and consistent, not to say a highly probable account, when it confesses that the Israelites notwithstanding the emphatic warnings of their Lawgiver (Lev. xviii. 21) did forget that Jehovah was the true God and relapsed into forbidden worship (*e. g.* Judges ii. 11; iii. 7; x. 6; 1 Kings xvi. 31). That account ought therefore to be either accepted or rejected as a whole. If we reject it, Hebrew history is so far a blank, and there is no material left for theorising: if we accept it, the conclusion is inevitable that the Hebrews from the very earliest period were in possession of religious principles incapable of all amalgamation with those of the adjacent countries.

CHAP. III. the Hyksos,[1] who were then the masters of the throne of Egypt and their patrons, being also of Phœnician origin. Everything is therefore tending to beget the expectation, that if the general form of men's religious principles depend upon locality, or race, or on the influence of a dominant and proselytising neighbour, the theology and worship of the Hebrew church will bear considerable resemblance to those of which Phœnicia has supplied the clearest and the boldest type. We ask accordingly what were the views there current with respect to that which is the fundamental characteristic of religious systems,—the doctrine of God?

Phœnician divinities.

'The religion of the Phœnicians,' to quote from Movers,[2] one of the most critical and impartial writers on the subject, 'was like that of the kindred Semitic tribes and of the ancient Asiatics in general,—essentially a nature-religion, *i. e.* a deification of the energies and laws of nature, an adoration of the objects in which those energies were thought to be present, and by which they became active and efficient. In this cycle of religions the Godhead is not a Power distinct from nature and ruling it without restraint, *as in the religion of the Hebrews;* but it is the secret energy in nature herself, as she is manifested according to fixed laws, now shaping, animating, sustaining, now again destroying her own works, whom man is therefore wont to supplicate with different kinds of homage, according to her various operations.' This writer acknowledges indeed that in the earliest period of Phœnician history, the object of their

[1] Cf. Kurtz's chapter 'Die Hyksos und die Israeliten,' in his *Gesch. des alten Bundes*, II. 173 sq.

[2] Movers, *die Religion und die Gottheiten der Phönizier*, p. 148. Berlin, 1855.

worship was identical with that of Israel:[1] and the notice of Melchisedec may also lead us to conjecture that the true idea of God still lingered here and there among the circumjacent tribes; yet long before the age of Solomon it is certain that some mighty changes had been wrought in their religious system, and that both in creed and morals the Phœnicians had grown frightfully corrupt. Belief in God, the Holy One, the personal Creator, was supplanted by luxuriant forms of nature-worship, in which carnage alternated with licentiousness, and groans of abject terror with the frantic songs of revelry. In strict accordance with human analogies the Godhead was now apprehended by them as male and female, and those special energies of nature were attributed to each that seemed to correspond most aptly to the functions of the different sexes.[2] Baal was the male-

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[1] 'Wenn sie [the Phœnician religion] von Alters her uns als Vergötterung der Natur, ihrer Kräfte und Gesetze erscheint, so sind wir doch weit entfernt, sie, und damit alle Religionen des Semitismus, für Naturreligion von Haus aus zu erklären. *Dies war die phönizische ebensowenig ursprünglich wie die hebräische.* Wir werden an seinem Orte den Spuren nachgehen, die sich namentlich in dem Entwicklungsgange der Ideen vom Baal oder El bedeutsam hervordrängen, und es wird sich zeigen, dass der Gott des monotheistischen Hebraismus der höchste Gott auch aller übrigen Stämme der Semiten war und blieb, dass jedoch der Naturdienst die reinere Gottesidee einer ältern Religionsstufe *allmählich verdunkelt*, aber nie auch in der phönizischen Religion völlig vertilgt hat:' p. 168. In pp. 312 sq. it is contended that the El of the Phœnicians was identical with the God of the Hebrew patriarchs, but was afterwards confounded with Moloch, the old fire-god of the Chaldaic-Assyrian mythology.

[2] Movers, pp. 149 sq. It is also plain, however, that this tendency of thought was commonly associated by the Phœnicians with a disposition to find peculiar *symbols* of their gods among the heavenly bodies. Thus Baal, as Gesenius shews, was often identified not only with the sun, but with the planet Jupiter, *stella Jovis*, as the guardian or giver of good fortune: and Astarte (עַשְׁתֹּרֶת = ستارة = star) in like manner sometimes represented the moon, but more es-

CHAP. III. divinity,—a personification of the active or generative power in nature, the giver and withholder of that life which circulates through all the animal and vegetable kingdoms, and the ruler of their destinies. Ashtoreth was the female-divinity,—a personification of the passive or maternal principle in nature, the Aphrodite of Semitic tribes, enkindling the desire of sensual gratification, and enlisting all the grosser passions of her votaries. The fundamental unity of both these powers was also represented in Phœnicia by transferring to the masculine divinity the attributes of the feminine, so as to produce another God, in whom the forms and properties of male and female are exhibited in mystic combination.[1]

I leave the reader to determine if a system such as this, whose gods were nothing more than the personifications of external nature, and reflections of corrupt humanity, had aught in common with the lofty and severely moral theism of the Hebrews. I ask him also to consider if the mere existence of their pure and elevating creed upon the borders of a dominant form of nature-worship be not calculated to supply additional proofs that they were guardians of a supernatural revelation, and that God was dealing with no other people as He dealt with them.

Hebrew doctrine of man.

2. But the doctrine of one, personal, holy God, was not the only truth on which the Law insisted, and to which its institutions were designed to draw the thoughts of every Hebrew. It unfolded also the true *doctrine of man:* his *dignity* and *wretchedness.*

pecially the planet Venus: cf. Movers, pp. 601 sq. On the dualism of China, see Wuttke, II. 12.

[1] The story of Hermaphroditus was carried by the Phœnicians to Cyprus and other regions: Movers, p. 149.

It urged not one of these great verities, but both: for only where the origin and grandeur of the human species are fully apprehended, can we hope to understand the turpitude of moral evil and the real nature of the fall of man. The Bible tells us that there is in him a high and God-like element, that instead of being fashioned on the lower model of the brute creation, he came forth into the world erect in stature and impressed with the Divine similitude; that in virtue of this kinship human life is sacred (Gen. ix. 6), and that human spirits, on the dissolution of the body, will return to God who gave them[1] (Eccles. xii. 7).

The leading property in which the high original

[1] I shall not enter far into the question why the doctrine of prolonged existence after death was rather hinted than explicitly affirmed in all the earlier writings of the Old Testament. It may be that the prevalence of a false doctrine of immortality, especially in Egypt, tended to unfit the ancient Hebrews for receiving more specific communications on this subject (Hengstenberg, *Dissert. on the Pentateuch*, II. 473). It may be that the thought of individual immortality was often suffered to merge itself in that of the indestructibility of the Hebrew nation (cf. Jerem. xxxi. 16, 17; Ezek. xxxvii. 11—14). Hegel, *Phil. of Hist.* p. 205: 'The individual never comes to the consciousness of independence; on that account we do not find among the Jews any belief in the immortality of the soul.' But the principal reason for the silence, or at least reserve, of the Old Testament is traceable to the fact that so long as the future world was merely an indefinite expanse, untrodden by human footsteps and devoid of human imagery, an appeal to it for motives in aid of the legal institute must have proved inoperative. The character of the whole dispensation was visible and earthly, and with these peculiarities the faint allusions to the world of the invisible entirely responded. See a very thoughtful article on this subject in the *Christian Remembrancer*, 1849, I. 164 sq. Meanwhile the pious Jew, as it is there observed, would find his ground of confidence in the doctrine of one supreme God. 'Fixed upon that spiritual basis of life, as upon a rock, he felt himself secure, come what might. Amid all the changes and decay of nature, constant and enduring, he placed his future in Almighty love, and reposed with a serene content upon an indefinite eternity... prepared in God to go he knew not and he asked not whither.'

CHAP. III. of man has ever been distinctly traceable is the freedom of his will, his power of self-determination. Here lay his greatest dignity and here his greatest peril. He is never represented by the sacred writer as the victim of some stern necessity, or some irrevocable fate,[1] like that which the Muhammadans imported into their religion from the heathen creeds of western Asia. He is made in the image of God; and the pre-eminence thus awarded to him is that which helps us to conceive the possibility of the first deflection from the path of rectitude, and to define the character of sin in general.

Character of sin.

Sin is the effect of self-complacency. It springs entirely from beneath.[2] It is a voluntary surrender

[1] Philippsohn, *Religious Idea*, pp. 40, 41.

This, of course, is not the same as if I wrote, 'entirely from *within*.' Such language would exclude the doctrine of a personal Tempter, and therefore would impugn both intimations of the Old Testament, and direct assertions of the New. Attempts, however, have been made of late, and that by members of the Church of England, to resolve the Fall into an outbreak of sexual concupiscence, or inharmonious action of the lower elements in man's own nature. The violence of these attempts may be estimated from the specimens contained in *A Vindication of Protestant Principles*, by Phileleutherus Anglicanus, Lond. 1847, and in Dr. Donaldson's recent speculations on the *Book of Jashar*, pp. 65 sq. In both works, the existence of any order of intelligences higher than the human is positively denied; and with regard to the language of our blessed Lord and the Apostles on the subject of a personal Tempter, these authors either contend that they felt themselves obliged 'to carry on what had become, and in the opinion of some persons still is, a necessary illusion' (*Vindication*, p. 77); or else maintain that passages alleged in proof of such external solicitations to evil ought really to be construed in a different sense, so as to make Satan only a personification of moral evil inherent in humanity. Now the former statement is entirely at variance with the general character of our Saviour's teaching. Did He not shew Himself the fearless adversary of all lax interpretations and 'traditions' which the superstitious Jews had grafted on the genuine revelation? And is it likely therefore that such a Teacher would have winked at serious 'errors,'—errors which, in the opinion of our modern critic, are so vital as to trench upon the unity and absolute supremacy of God? To answer the second argument, I would ask the

to external tempters, or a self-induced disturbance in the equilibrium of man's will. It is a perverted quality of the creature, by which he is impelled into antagonism with the Creator, refuses to continue in the attitude of worship and dependence, and claims to be his own divinity. When the narration of the Fall is once regarded as a veritable history, and as originally designed for the instruction alike of peasant and philosopher in every age, it furnishes the most intelligible guide within our reach for the elucidation both of ancient records and of moral parodoxes in our own experience. Man knows that he is ever drawn in opposite directions, that when he would do good, evil is present with him. He is no longer what he was designed to be, nor what he feels he might become. Apart from revelation he is sadly conscious of his malady; the Bible, therefore, tells him of its origin, its depth and its malignity; and to impress and foster this belief the legal institute was more especially directed. It dealt with man as with a wretched and degraded, yet recoverable, creature. It exhibited at every turn the perfect majesty and holiness of God, and through that exhibition deepened man's conviction of his littleness, depravity, and ruin. By the Law was the knowledge of sin. This function it especially came forward to discharge. The

The malignity of sin especially asserted.

reader to examine for himself the principal texts in question, and try if the idea of an internal struggle will fairly satisfy the language of the sacred penman. This is Dr. C. J. Vaughan's suggestion (*Personality of the Tempter*, &c. p. 20, Lond. 1851), who repudiates the proposed explanation of such passages as utterly untenable, and then adds: 'from which consequently we must infer, by the strictest rules of reasoning, either the personality of the Tempter, or (I speak as a man) the error, and therefore the imposture, of Christ.'

CHAP. III. clouds of wrath indeed are ever fringed with hope: a prospect of some glorious restoration is unfolded in the distant background: intimations of God's love and placability accompany the most terrific manifestations of His anger; or, in other words, the sternest tokens of the truth that sin and holiness are incompatible, nay, absolutely antagonistic, are allied with frequent hints that God and man have found a place of meeting and of reconciliation. Still the ordinary and habitual operation of the Law was to excite the conscience of the Hebrew worshipper, to make him clear and sensitive as to the grand distinctions of morality, to waken longings which it could not satisfy, to preach divisions in the heart of man which it could neither remedy nor relieve. Its author knew that to improve the quality of human actions it is necessary to command the will, and regulate the wishes, nay, that such a course is an essential precondition to the fuller understanding of the truth. He knew, moreover, that until these elementary principles of religion are worked, or drilled, as I might say, into the human heart, there is no basis for ulterior training, no foundation for that superstructure, which it was the purpose of Jehovah to erect at some future period.

Accordingly, the office of the old œconomy regarded merely on the legal side is that of a schoolmaster; its tone is stern, severe, and peremptory. God is, for the most part, represented rather as the King, the Judge, and the Avenger of iniquity, than as the Pardoner and Redeemer. A whirling, wasting flame, the symbol of His purity, the proof that evil cannot 'dwell with Him,' is visible upon the confines of that spot, which had originally formed an earnest

to the human family of their Maker's love and nearness;[1] and like images of awe and terror are associated in all future periods with His more immediate presence. Man is driven to confess at every step, that sin is a profound reality; and that by sinning he becomes an alien and an exile, at enmity with God, creation, and his proper self.

Effects of this training.

It would be easy to adduce examples where the Hebrew shewed a strong conviction of the force and fitness of these verities: but such examples are not wanted in the present stage of our inquiry. The moral sensibility of the whole Hebrew nation, as compared with that of the adjoining states, is commonly admitted, even by a section of those writers who deny that it was due in any measure to a supernatural revelation. While Greece is recognised as their instructress in the principles of beauty and of science; while Rome is the great fountain of their knowledge with respect to jurisprudence and municipal rights, they are content to be indebted to the Jew for clear conceptions of 'the holiness of God, and of His sympathy with His servants.'[2]

Objections to the ritual branches of the Law.

3. But another portion of the legal institute awakens very different feelings in this class of speculators. 'What,' they ask triumphantly, 'can you

[1] Yet the very banishment from Eden, and the planting of the sword-like flame upon its confines, were not altogether unrelieved by intimations of God's mercy. I have shewn elsewhere (*Sermons*, p. 49) that the cherubim were emblems, or rather one compounded emblem, of the highest forms of creature-life, especially the human; and that their appearance was a pledge to man of his continued interest in the seat from which he was expelled: cf. Bähr, *Symbolik des Mosaischen Cultus*, I. 311 sq.; Fairbairn, *Typology of Scripture*, I. 221 sq. 2nd ed.

[2] Newman's *Hebr. Monarchy*, p. 332, 2nd ed.: cf. *Phases of Faith*, pp. 188, 231.

CHAP. III. allege in vindication of the ritualism and sacrificial cultus of the Hebrews? Is *it* worthy of a place in the religious system, which you argue sprang from heaven, and which we too acknowledge inculcates the purest and most spiritual views of God? Must *it* not rather be an artifice of Satan, or, as Satan is a mere nonentity, of Jewish priests,—a spurious after-growth that rooted itself in the dark ages, or possibly amid the last convulsions of the Hebrew monarchy?'

Indeed, the ceremonial law, as it is called, has proved itself a stumbling-block to every form of spiritualism. The school of Philo made it tolerable only by concealing it beneath a multitude of allegorical interpretations. The Alexandrines, in like manner, were perplexed by not a few of its provisions, and in reference to the main principles on which it was constructed, viewed it chiefly as a condescension to the weakness of the carnal mind;[1] while many Deists of the last century, and some of their descendants in the present, have not hesitated to denounce the ceremonial law in terms of obloquy, abhorrence, or contempt.[2] Their opposition is, I

[1] It is remarkable that Spinosa in like manner (*Tractatus Theologico-Politici*, cap. ii. p. 27, Hamburgi, 1670) places Solomon higher than the Law by reason of his intellectual eminence: 'nam ea *iis tantum* tradita est, qui ratione et naturalis intellectus documentis carent.'

[2] Von Bohlen's language on this subject (*Einleitung*, p. 175) is merely a reiteration of De Wette's earlier views: but the author neglects to tell us that De Wette afterwards modified them very considerably in his *Biblische Dogmatik*, § 54. See Hengstenberg, *Dissert. on the Pentateuch*, II. 504. According to another class of writers (*e. g.* Bunsen, *Kirche der Zukunft*, p. 77) the whole of the Levitical system was 'introduced in God's anger,' and therefore only interposed new obstacles between Him and His creatures. This was also the view of Spinosa: see Hegel, *Phil. of Hist.* p. 205, Lond. 1857. The single text that furnishes a plea in favour of this theory is Ezek. xx.

think, attributable partly to mistaken views respecting the nature and effects of ritualism in general, but still more to want of insight into the condition of the ancient world and the capacity of its inhabitants. Till we have placed ourselves, as far as possible, upon the standing-ground of those for whom the Law of Moses was designed; till we have tried to look upon it with their eyes, and think afresh the thoughts which burnt and struggled in their bosoms, we shall fail to understand the drift of very many of its ordinances, we shall be incompetent judges of the way in which a system such as that was calculated to excite, instruct, and edify the members of the Elder Church. CHAP. III.

Peculiar temperament and position of the Hebrews.

The Hebrew was in race and temperament a western Asiatic. The very genius of his native language, corresponding there as always to the bent and constitution of the human mind, bore witness to his general inaptitude for deep and abstract thought or metaphysical inquiries.[1] He was, accordingly, far more dependent than the cultivated nations of the present day on the ideas derived from outward action. He lived far more than they in the impressions made upon the senses;[2] and on passing into the province

25, 26, where God declares that after the defection of the Israelites He gave them 'statutes that were not good, and judgments whereby they should not live.' But it is obvious from the order in which this punishment occurs, that the prophet did not mean the laws and institutions of the Mosaic covenant, all of which were in fact promulgated soon after the exodus from Egypt. He was, on the contrary, referring to cruel and licentious customs of the neighbouring heathen, to which the Lord declares that He abandoned the Israelites for their unfaithfulness to Him and to the Law: cf. 2 Thess. ii. 11, and Fairbairn's *Ezekiel*, pp. 176, 177, Edinb. 1851.

[1] See Wiseman's *Lectures on the Connexion between Science and Revealed Religion*, I. 139.

[2] Cf. O. Müller, as quoted in Hengstenberg, *Dissert.* II. 513.

CHAP. III. of religion manifested an especial quickness in appreciating representations of the truth that had been cast into a concrete shape and carried their appeal directly to the ear and eyesight. Hence for men like him the language of symbolic action might be aptly substituted, here and there at least, for that of speech and writing, on the ground that it would be more urgent, scenic, and expressive. It accorded with the mental habits of the period; it fell in completely with the prevalent modes of thought. An emblem borrowed from the outer world, an institution clad in picturesque and vivid imagery was to him the most efficient sign and best interpreter of things invisible; for although the popular mind of antiquity when labouring to give utterance to a supersensuous truth, might be impelled by some internal necessity to use symbolic language, there is no reason to infer that it must always have apprehended such truths exactly in the form assumed in their expression,[1] or could never have been able to detach the thing communicated from its vehicle and outer covering.

The Hebrew was, moreover, as to the degree of his religious knowledge and his capability of reflection in the childhood of his being. As such his character was marked by childlike simplicity. A stranger to all deep and long-sustained abstraction, he was most accessible to teaching that approached him through the channel of the senses, that spoke to him in ritual acts, in the arrangements of a solemn and imposing liturgy, that fetched its motives from external and

[1] Bähr, *Symbolik*, I. 24, 25. Tholuck (*Ep. to the Hebrews*, I. 107) quotes a remarkable testimony on the subject from the Persian philosopher Mahmúd.

immediate objects, from rewards that followed close upon obedience, or from penalties that touched his body, and were ever 'lying at the door.' Jehovah 'led him by the hand' in matters of religion,[1] rescued him from the seductions of heathen worship, by providing forms adapted to his temperament and his capacity, yet making all such forms the vehicles of pure ideas and noble aspirations, and thus gradually prepared him for the time when his religion would be less outsided and more spiritual, when 'the true worshippers' would 'worship the Father in spirit and in truth' (John iv. 23). CHAP. III.

Symbolic mode of teaching.

For these and other reasons it was most expedient to clothe some revelations of the Old Testament in figurative drapery, to employ symbolic and prophetic action[2] as an ordinary means of teaching spiritual truths and leading men to an approximate acquaintance with transcendant mysteries, which some ulterior revelation would more perfectly unveil. The forms of Hebrew worship in particular were meant to be a sort of acted parable, precluding, it may be, the fullest measure of religious knowledge, and as when the Saviour spoke in parables, implying man's un-

[1] Cf. Bp. Law's *Considerations on the Theory of Religion*, p. 152, 7th ed., and Chandler's *Bampton Lectures*, pp. 49, 50. Irenæus had already expressed himself to the same effect: Ὡς οὖν ἡ μὲν μήτηρ δύναται τέλειον παρασχεῖν τῷ βρέφει τὸ ἔμβρωμα, τὸ δὲ ἔτι ἀδυνατεῖ τὴν αὐτοῦ πρεσβυτέραν δέξασθαι τροφήν· οὕτως καὶ ὁ Θεὸς αὐτὸς μὲν οἷός τε ἦν παρασχεῖν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τὸ τέλειον, ὁ δὲ ἄνθρωπος ἀδύνατος λαβεῖν αὐτό· νήπιος γὰρ ἦν. Lib. IV. c. 37, § 1.

[2] Witsius, *De Prophetia et Prophetis*, devotes a chapter (Lib. I. c. xii.) to this mode of instruction. Ezekiel himself (xxiv. 24) told the Jews distinctly that he was on one occasion 'a sign' (εἰς τέρας) to them: 'according to all that he hath done shall ye do; and when this cometh, ye shall know that I am the Lord God.'

CHAP. III. worthiness and his imperfect receptivity;[1] yet, meanwhile, bringing to the eyes of docile and inquiring spirits many a truth which they might otherwise have failed to apprehend. We should, moreover, bear in mind that symbolic actions were not the only media then employed in the communication of sacred knowledge. The emblems of the legal institute were something more than hieroglyphics, which the future ages of the world might possibly decipher. In many cases where they did not speak emphatically to the warm imagination of the oriental, they would doubtless be explained by Moses, or the line of prophets who succeeded in his room, and thus would borrow fresh significance from naked and explicit forms of teaching by which they were accompanied. The initiatory rite of circumcision will supply us with an instance of the truth of this remark. Its own suggestive character is assumed in admonitions of the Hebrew legislator, as though it were intelligible to all classes of his subjects; yet the moral duty which it indicates is, notwithstanding, forcibly repeated both by him and by the prophet Jeremiah.[2]

Distinction between types and symbols.

I am here expressing no opinion as to the degree of insight which the Israelite enjoyed into the correspondency between the ritual service of the Law and the events of Christianity, *i. e.* respecting the didactic office of the legal institute regarded as a series of prophetic types. Such correspondency,[3] I doubt not,

[1] Some interesting reflections on this analogy will be found in Mr. Isaac Williams's *Study of the Gospels*, Part II. § 3.

[2] Deut. x. 16; xxx. 6; Jerem. iv. 4. That many of the later Jews were still in the habit of assigning spiritual meanings to the symbols of the temple-service is shewn by Tholuck, *Ep. to the Hebrews*, II. 18, 19.

[3] The great points of correspondency, as noticed in the writings of the New Testament, are

was intended, and is now distinctly traceable: but whether it was seen by worthies of the old œconomy is a very different question. They who pondered the suggestive emblems of the sanctuary, who prayed for fresh illumination to 'behold wondrous things out of the Law' (Ps. cxix. 18), may doubtless have obtained in it some passing glimpses of the evangelic Promise:[1]

investigated with much learning and sobriety by Mr. Fairbairn, *Typology of Scripture*, 2nd ed. The author is fully conscious of the distinction I am here endeavouring to establish between the typical and symbolical aspects of the Law: cf. Bähr, *Symbolik des Mosaischen Cultus*, I. 15 sq.

[1] Archbp. Magee appears to overstate the measure of this insight, when he gathers that 'the ancient sacrifices, those prescribed to the patriarchs, and those enjoined by the law, were types and figures, and *known to be such*, of that one great sacrifice, which was, at a future day, to be offered upon the cross for the sins of the whole human race.' *On the Atonement*, I. 381, 3rd ed. The authority adduced to justify this inference is the following passage of Eusebius, *Demonst. Evangel.* lib. I. c. X. (p. 36, Paris, 1628): Ἕως μὲν οὖν οὐδέπω, τὸ κρεῖττον, οὐδὲ τὸ μέγα καὶ τίμιον, καὶ θεοπρεπὲς σφάγιον παρῆν ἀνθρώποις, ταῖς διὰ ζώων θυσίαις λύτρα τῆς ἑαυτῶν ζωῆς, καὶ ἀντίψυχα τῆς οἰκείας φύσεως προσηκόντως ἀποδιδόναι χρὴν τῷ Θεῷ, ὡς δὲ ἔπραττον οἱ πάλαι θεοφιλεῖς, σεμνόν τι καὶ θεοφιλὲς καὶ μέγα ἱερεῖον ἤξειν ποτε εἰς ἀνθρώπους τῷ θείῳ πνεύματι προειληφότες, τὸ τοῦ παντὸς καθάρσιον κόσμου, οὗ καὶ τὰ σύμβολα τέως ἐπιτελεῖν αὐτοὺς προφήτας ὄντας, καὶ τὸ μέλλον ἔσεσθαι προτυπουμένους· But if this passage really warranted the inference that the Hebrews, as a nation, were so conversant with all the mysteries of redemption, it would be impossible to explain such texts as 1 Pet. i. 11, 12, or indeed to understand the utter dulness of the first apostles in not perceiving that He whom they revered as the Messiah must go to Jerusalem and be killed, and must rise again the third day (Matt. xvi. 22; Luke xviii. 34). Archbp. Magee himself acknowledges the force of a similar difficulty arising out of what is called 'the mystical sacrifice of the Phœnicians' (Euseb. *Præpar. Evangel.* lib. I. c. X; I. 90, ed. Gaisford): for he there perceives (p. 389), that if such offering had contained the typical references assigned to it by Bryant (*Observations on Ancient History*, pp. 286 sq. Camb. 1767), the idolatrous inhabitants of Canaan would have possessed 'a more exact delineation of the great future sacrifice' than was accorded to the Hebrews at the same early period. The truth is, that the 'typical' character of the sacrifice in question cannot be established. The phrase κατεσφάττοντο δὲ οἱ διδόμενοι μυστικῶς signifies that human victims were immolated on these occasions 'with mystic or secret rites,' without implying a prophetic reference to some higher Victim. This consideration also furnishes

CHAP. III. yet others, when they worshipped either in the wilderness or on the sacred hill of Sion, may have gathered from the multiplicity of public sacrifices no acquaintance with the holy Victim of the Cross. Their own condition intellectually may have resembled that of the woman in St. Matthew's Gospel, whose devotion was accepted and rewarded by the Saviour, but who knew not that in pouring the ointment on His body, she had done it for His burial (Matt. xxvi. 12).

General principles inculcated by the sacrificial system.

Apart, however, from its typical design, the Hebrew system had been calculated to exert a present influence on the life and spirit of the worshipper. It was not only a collection of prophetic types that should hereafter grow more luminous, explicit and convincing when the Antitype Himself arose; it was *symbolical* of truths already current in the Elder Church; it was suggestive of ideas that operated then and there upon the springs of moral action. The sacrificial cultus, for example, which is properly esteemed the root and centre of the legal system, was no empty pageant for exciting a fantastic or appeasing a blood-thirsty populace: it was no mere state-machinery for keeping Israelites together, or retaining them in their allegiance to some earthly potentate. It symbolised a number of profound realities, affecting man's position in the sight of God, and illustrated on what terms the spirit of the human suppliant could approach the glorious Object of his worship. It set forth, especially, in vivid characters and certified in blood of sacrificial victims the great truth, which

an answer to Mr. W. J. Fox (*Religious Ideas*, p. 110), when he dwells upon the theory of Bryant, and endeavours to elicit an argument in favour of his 'religion of humanity,' from such fancied parallels between the Christian and Phœnician views of expiation.

every nation more or less admitted and deplored, the truth that sin and holiness are utterly imcompatible, and that only by surrendering life can the relations which iniquity subverts be re-established and renewed. CHAP. III.

To render this more plain and forcible, I shall select an instance from the ordinary worshippers of the time of David, when the ark had come in triumph to the new metropolis, and when the cycle of the Hebrew liturgy was celebrated in its fulness. Such a man would find that he was planted in the midst of a minute and solemn ritual, its centre in the holy tabernacle, or rather in the ark of the covenant, where God, who 'rideth upon the heaven of heavens' (Ps. lxviii. 33), had condescended to approach His fallen creatures, and dispense His gifts of grace. *Example.*

The tabernacle itself was curtained from the outer world, and subdivided into three compartments, each with its appropriate office in the worship of Jehovah. The forecourt was a gathering-point for all the congregation of the Israelites: the holy place was destined for a special order,[1] for the members of the sacerdotal family, whom God, in carrying out His

[1] The distinction does not, however, prove the existence of a sacerdotal *caste* among the Hebrews. The idea of caste is inseparably connected with that of different origines (*e. g.* the Brâhmans, and they alone, are said to have issued from the *head* of Brâhma). Besides, it was announced in early times to all the Israelites without exception, (Ex. xix. 5, 6) that if they were true to God's covenant, they would be a special people and a 'kingdom of priests' (cf. 1 Pet. ii. 9, where Christians are also entitled *γένος ἐκλεκτὸν, βασίλειον ἱεράτευμα*): in other words, that as contrasted with Gentile nations, every Hebrew would know God in His revealed character and stand to Him in a relationship peculiarly near. And that the Israelites felt themselves thus 'consecrated as a whole people,' so as to become 'priests and prophets for all mankind,' is stated by Philo, *De Abrahamo*, Opp. II. 15, ed. Mangey; *De Mose*, Ibid. II. 104.

CHAP. III. purpose, had brought nigh unto Himself: while only one of these, and he upon a single day of the year, was authorised to pass beyond a veil suspended at the extremity of the holy place, that he might offer incense near the mercy-seat, or covering of the ark of witness, and so minister in the holiest of all. But other circumstances urged the Hebrew layman in the same direction, and constrained him to reflect on the provisions of the Law. He was most deeply interested in the multifarious acts of worship ever celebrated in the mother-city of Judæa. Like his countrymen in general he was circumcised: he stood in a peculiar nearness, or in covenant-relations to the God of Abraham; and in virtue of this connexion prayed to God as to his own God, and was able to participate in what is found to be an all-pervading element of Hebrew worship, the rite of sacrifice.

Different classes of transgressions.

He felt, moreover, that the system under which he lived was such as to accuse, convict, and punish him when he deflected from the course of action it prescribed. Of these delinquencies one section were the open violations of the Moral Law which contravened the letter of the Decalogue; the rest were all transgressions of inferior branches of the legal system, partly moral, partly positive or ceremonial. Now the former class embracing all varieties of heinous sin the worshipper knew would subject him to excommunication or else to death itself. The Law was able to prescribe no remedy for them: it claimed 'the blood not of a vicarious victim, but of the transgressor.'[1] He was, therefore, either separated, where the sin was public and notorious, from all intercourse

[1] Davison, *On Sacrifice*, p. 80.

with other Hebrews, and was driven to confess with shame and bitter self-reproaches, 'Thou desirest not sacrifice, else would I give it;' or was sentenced to die 'without mercy,' an example of the just severity of God, a warning to his neighbours. Hope there might be for such culprits, even at this dark extremity, but the source from which it sprang was not distinctly indicated by the ordinances of the Law. CHAP. III.

It was, however, different with a second class[1] of crimes, where the offence was either purely ceremonial, or, if moral, one in which the turpitude was not so glaring nor so utterly devoid of palliating circumstances. For all these the Law of Moses had provided means of expiation. An Israelite, for instance, has been sworn as witness, but is guilty of concealing portions of the truth (Levit. v. 4—6). He can preserve his standing in the sacred common-

[1] Offences for which an atonement was provided may be classed as follows: 1. Bodily impurity. 2. Ceremonial omissions and transgressions. 3. Sins of ignorance and inadvertency, or offences unwittingly committed (ἀγνοήματα). 4. Certain specified cases of moral transgression, knowingly committed, in favour of which exceptions from the general severity of the Law appear to have been recognised. Davison, *Ibid.* p. 78. Still it is quite possible that the pardon of grosser acts of immorality and even of most deadly sins may have been symbolised, and in so far as related to men's outward position in the theocracy, may have been really effected, on the great day of atonement: for the confession of the high priest then extended to 'all the iniquities of the children of Israel, and all their transgressions in all their sins,' *i. e.* to sins of every kind. Maimonides (as quoted by Magee, 1. 351), declares that 'the scapegoat made atonement for all the transgressions of the Law, both the lighter and the more heavy transgressions,' provided the sinner was himself truly penitent: but this theory of the Jewish schoolman rests upon a total misconception of the Levitical sacrifices. None of these 'could make him that did the service perfect, as *pertaining to the conscience*,' (Heb. ix. 9, 10; x. 1, 11): they were in respect of it impotent and insufficient: they were symbols only of the genuine purification that was to be effected by other agencies, and therefore did not reach beyond 'the time of reformation.'

CHAP. III. wealth only by the aid of 'trespass-offerings'[1]—a lamb or kid of the goats which must be offered in his name in strict compliance with the regulations of the Law. He therefore travels to mount Zion, to the holy tabernacle of God. He brings his offering to the altar: his hand is pressed upon the head of the devoted animal, which he is taught will be accepted as the means of rescuing the offender from the outward penalty of his misdeed. The blood, or vehicle of life, is taken by the priest who sprinkles part of it upon the altar, and pours the rest upon the ground. The flesh is then abandoned to the ministers of the sanctuary, and in cases such as that we are considering, is consumed by them within the precincts of the tabernacle: while the offerer is at liberty to turn his footsteps homeward, reinstated in his old position as a member of the sacred family, and so far at peace with God whose laws he had infringed.

Operation and effects of the Levitical offerings.

Now this was only one of multitudinous rites that exercised the faith and tested the obedience of the Hebrew, that constrained him to reflect on the surpassing majesty and purity of God, that deepened in his heart the sentiments of fear and reverence, and that kept alive the consciousness of moral evil. The operation of his sacrifice was plainly two-fold.[2] It

[1] The words אָשָׁם (= πλημμέλεια, sacrificium pro delictis), and חַטָּאת (= ἁμαρτία, περὶ τῆς ἁμαρτίας, sacrificium pro peccatis) are so interchanged in this passage (Lev. v. 1—13), that it is well-nigh impossible to say whether allusion is really made to the 'trespass-offering,' or 'the sin-offering:' see Winer, *Realwörterbuch*, II. 431 sq. 3rd ed. I have adopted that view which seems more probable on the whole, making the trespass-offerings refer to an offence in which the individual only is concerned, and the transgression known exclusively to himself.

[2] Cf. above, p. 113, n. 1, and Mr. Thomson's *Bampton Lectures* (1853), p. 65. Grotius already insisted strongly on the same dis-

produced a real change in him with reference to the outward laws and privileges of the theocracy under which he lived: it symbolised and represented, though it did not actually impart, those better gifts of grace, affecting his relations to the Searcher of the human spirit, and promoting the purification of the conscience. I will here revert a moment to the case before adduced, and indicate the probable emotions and reflections which the rite of sacrifice was calculated to excite in ordinary Hebrews of the age of David, when they worshipped in a pious spirit, such as that which animates the Book of Psalms. The one locality at which their offering must be made in order to secure acceptance would itself contribute to impress the doctrine of God's unity.[1] How sacred also and how awful was that place! How radiant to the eye of such a worshipper with glorious and profound associations! 'It is here that Thou, O God, the Unapproachable, hast condescended to draw nigh and bless the waiting multitude. Dreadful art Thou, O Lord, out of Thy sanctuaries, the God of Israel; He gives might and strength unto His people. Blessed be God' (cf. Ps. lxviii. 35). So mused he as he wound his way along the sacred slopes of Zion; or perchance he asked himself with trembling

tinction: 'Lex vetus dupliciter spectatur; aut carnaliter, aut spiritualiter. Carnaliter, qua instrumentum fuit πολιτείας, *reipublicæ* Judaicæ. Spiritualiter, qua σκίαν εἶχε τῶν μελλόντων, *umbram habebat futurorum*... Ex his quæ diximus perspicuum jam est, quomodo victimæ pro peccato in Veteri Fœdere peccata expiarint; nimirum Deum movendo, ut pœnam carnalem remitteret, idque per satisfactionem quandam *etc.*' *Defensio Fidei Cathol. de Satisfactione Christi*, c. x. *Opp. Theolog.* III. 331, 333.

[1] Εἷς ναὸς ἑνὸς Θεοῦ· φίλον γὰρ ἀεὶ παντὶ τὸ ὅμοιον. κοινὸς ἁπάντων, κοινοῦ Θεοῦ ἁπάντων. Joseph. *contra Apion.* lib. II. § 23: *Opp.* II. 485, ed. Havercamp.

CHAP. III. earnestness, 'Who shall ascend into the hill of the Lord, or who shall stand in His holy place?' and heard the answer of the Psalmist, 'He that hath clean hands and a pure heart; who hath not lifted up his soul unto vanity, nor sworn deceitfully. He shall receive the blessing from the Lord, and righteousness from the God of his salvation' (Ps. xxiv. 3—5). Where he enters the tabernacle in this spirit, the feelings that subdue him as he stoops beneath the sacred curtain will continue to direct his thoughts in all his subsequent devotions, and will save him from presenting 'the sacrifice of fools.' He leads his offering to the altar, and as he is there again reminded that the victim must be perfect of its kind, without spot or blemish, in full possession of that life which constitutes the noblest gift of God, how calculated is it to suggest and strengthen the conviction that purity, internal purity, will also be demanded of the worshipper, that while he brings an offering to the altar and expresses there his sense of imperfection and dependence, he must also learn the arduous task of self-surrender, he must give his soul a living sacrifice to God.[1] His hand is placed upon the

[1] Bähr, who has been followed by some English writers of distinction, is not satisfied with considering this as *one aspect* of the rite of sacrifice, but argues that the surrender of the human life and will to God was at the very root of the idea. He draws attention, it is true, to the blood sprinkled on the altar, but only to blood as the *vehicle of life*, not as giving an especial prominence to the death of the victim. 'Der symbolische Charakter des Opfers besteht aber nun darin dass das Dar- oder Nahebringen (הקריב) des Nephesch in Opferblute auf den Altar, als den Ort der Gegenwart und Offenbarung Gottes, Symbol von dem Dar- oder Nahebringen des Nephesch des Opfernden an Jehova, den Heiligen ist. Wie jenes Darbringen des Thierblutes (Seele) ein Hin- und Aufgeben des Thierlebens in den Tod ist, so soll auch das seelische d. i. selbstische im Gegensatz zu Gott befindliche Leben des Opfernden hin- und aufgegeben werden d. h. sterben; weil aber dies Hingeben ein Hingeben

victim, in whose struggles he beholds the image and the representative of punishment which he provoked,[1] and he is smitten with a deeper consciousness of his pollution and demerit; he feels that if Jehovah were to deal with him according to his works, the penalty would fall directly, and would overwhelm himself instead of the vicarious offering. 'Lo! now,' his plea is, 'I repent, and am truly sorry for my misdeeds; let this victim be my expiation.'[2] Its death is speedily accomplished, and he finds in that event another symbol both of the displeasure and the placability of God. He learns from what is represented to his eyesight that 'without shedding of blood there is no remission;' yet he reasons that as natural life is cherished by the agency of food derived from the inferior animals, the love of God is also manifested in arrangements which provide that their life shall be taken as a substitute for his. And therefore when he gazes on the flame of the completed sacrifice, new hopes are simultaneously awakened in his bosom. He feels that God, who has not turned away from

an Jehova, den Heiligen ist, so ist es kein Aufhören schlechthin, nicht etwas blos Negatives, sondern ein Sterben, welches eo ipso zum Leben wird' u. s. w. II. 210. According to this theory there is nothing strictly substitutionary or vicarious in any sacrifice, and therefore not in the sacrificial death of Christ, who merely surrendered His life to God as an example of perfect self-renunciation to be imitated spiritually by all His people. See a full examination of Bähr's positions in Kurtz, *Das Mosaische Opfer*, Mitau, 1842, and cf. Fairbairn's *Typology*, Vol. II. Append. B.

[1] That the Mosaic sacrifices were in this sense *vicarious*, and really instrumental in releasing the offender from the temporal punishment due to his transgression, is distinctly affirmed in Levit. i. 4: 'And he shall put his hand upon the head of the burnt-offering; and it shall be accepted for him, to make atonement for him' (וְנִרְצָה לוֹ לְכַפֵּר עָלָיו): cf. the arguments and authorities in Magee, Vol. I. No. XXXVIII. No. XXXIX.

[2] See this and other traditional forms in Outram, *De Sacrificiis*, Lib. I. c. XV. § 10, 11. Lond. 1677.

CHAP. III. the oblation thus presented in accordance with His will, who visibly delivers the offender from the temporal consequence of his transgression, may also be induced to hear his cry of penitential grief, to purge the soul with hyssop, and to heal the broken and the contrite heart (Ps. li. 7, 17).

Suggestive features of the sanctuary.

The internal arrangements of the sanctuary itself would in like manner serve to generate these deeper principles of faith, of reverence, of humility. The earnest worshippers, for instance, uniformly revered the ark of the covenant as the proper shrine of God, the Self-Existent One, and therefore as a pledge that notwithstanding their demerit He was still the ever-present Guardian of the Israelites, and that His tabernacle was with man. The same was vividly suggested by the mercy-seat, or mystic covering of the Law, where God was pledged to commune with His people (Ex. xxv. 22), and extended to them foretastes of His reconciling love. Yet different thoughts were also prompted by this indication of His saving presence. So long as the most sacerdotal Hebrews were excluded from the holiest portion of the tabernacle, the truth could scarcely fail to print itself upon the least reflecting mind among them, that an age of full and absolute communion with the Holy One was still to be expected, that the way into the inner glories of the sanctuary 'was not yet made manifest' (Heb. ix. 8), that veils were interposed between the human soul and God, and would continue to be there suspended till a mystery 'kept secret since the world began' was finally unveiled at the inauguration of some new œconomy, and discovered 'to all nations for the obedience of faith' (Rom. xvi. 25, 26).

Relation of the Law to the Gospel.

Nor does this version of the Law, regarded under its *symbolic* aspect, differ in essential points from the deductions which the Christian is enabled to derive from *typical* arrangements of the old œconomy. On the contrary, it will be found that the two lines of thought are strictly parallel. They both exhibit the same general elements of supernatural truth; they both are tending to produce the same kind of principles and feelings in their subjects, though the last has reference to far higher platforms, and to modes of action far more spiritual, heavenly, and profound.[1] In different words, there is exactly the same kind of disproportion between the Hebrew and Christian versions of the Law as that which, from the nature and necessities of the case, exists between the office of the pedagogue and the professor. There is a disproportion, but no dissimilitude: the first is elementary; it hints, suggests, and shadows forth what is distinctly inculcated and effected by the second. In

[1] Mr. Fairbairn (*Typology of Scripture*, I. 58, 59) has embodied nearly the same idea in the following passage: 'In the immediate ends to be accomplished, and the apparatus provided for accomplishing them, the two dispensations are as far asunder as heaven is from the earth: but in both alike, we see a pure and holy God, enshrined in the recesses of a glorious sanctuary, unapproachable by guilty and polluted flesh, but through a medium of powerful intercession and cleansing efficacy,—yet to those who so approach, most merciful and gracious, full of loving-kindness, and plenteous in redemption: while in every act of sincere approach on their part, there is necessarily brought into exercise the same feelings of contrition and abasement, self-renunciation, realising faith, childlike dependence and adoring gratitude. So that the preparatory and the ultimate dispensations, considered in their general character and design, disclosed substantially the same views of God, and in doing so awoke the same feelings in the hearts of His worshippers: but the former only as the shadow of the latter, a resemblance but not the substance, a representation in outward, earthly, and perishable materials, and with respect to the concerns of flesh and time, of the spiritual ideas and principles which the dispensation of the Gospel embodies in things not made with hands and with respect to objects truly heavenly and divine.'

CHAP. III. the first, as Moses emblematically veiled his countenance, we have a system veiled, in order that the plenary light of truth might not be prematurely manifested, and so dazzle the imperfect vision of the subject (2 Cor. iii. 13); in the second, when the fulness of the time had come, the light of the knowledge of the glory of God is ready to shine forth into the heart of every child of Adam from the face of Jesus Christ (2 Cor. iv. 6). And thus the Law is found to have been neither silenced, abrogated, nor subverted by the coming of the Son of God. Its real character is vindicated; it is shewn to be a lower form of one and the same religion. It has passed into the Gospel. Its dim and shadowy outlines are filled up by the effusion of the Holy Spirit; its graphic and mnemonic symbols are converted into quickening and sustaining sacraments; its bloody sacrifices pointing ever to the spotless Lamb of God, who taketh away the sins of the world, have been exchanged[1] for prayers and hymns, and eucharistic offerings, where the worshipper presents himself, his soul and body, a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable to God, which is our reasonable service (Rom. xii. 1). Faint and transitory 'preludes' of the Incarnation, granted in the time of Hebraism, were just enough to indicate that God was placable, and might hereafter bring Himself into more intimate relations with the human family. But in the Gospel heaven and earth

[1] *Οὐκοῦν καὶ θύομεν καὶ θυμιῶμεν· τοτὲ μὲν τὴν μνήμην τοῦ μεγάλου θύματος, κατὰ τὰ πρὸς αὐτοῦ παραδοθέντα μυστήρια ἐπιτελοῦντες, καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας ἡμῶν εὐχαριστίαν· δι' εὐσεβῶν ὕμνων τε καὶ εὐχῶν τῷ Θεῷ προσκομίζοντες· τοτὲ δὲ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ὅλῳ καθιεροῦντες αὐτῷ, καὶ τῷ γε Ἀρχιερεῖ αὐτοῦ Λόγῳ, αὐτῷ σώματι καὶ ψυχῇ ἀνακείμενοι.* Eusebius, *Demonst. Evangel.* Lib. I. c. X. (p. 40, Paris, 1628).

are reconciled and re-united. God has been 'manifest in the flesh,' assuming all our nature, body, soul and spirit, into perfect and indissoluble union with divinity. The fulness of the time arrived, and 'God sent forth His Son, made of a woman, made under the Law, to redeem them that were under the Law, that we might receive the adoption of sons' (Gal. iv. 4, 5). The Christian, therefore, is not left to raise himself by means of a symbolic ritual to the full perception of these blessed facts, and a belief in these transcendant mysteries: before our eyes Jesus Christ hath been evidently set forth crucified amongst us (Gal. iii. 1). In his character of the burnt-offering, He was immolated to replace mankind in their original subjection to the Godhead: as the peace-offering, He completed our imperfect vows and our defective praises: as the sin-offering, He bore in His sinless body to the tree the concentrated weight of penal suffering that was due to man's iniquities. He blotted out the handwriting that was against us, nailing it to the cross. He died the just for the unjust that He might bring us back to God. He passed in triumph from the earth, or outer-court of the eternal sanctuary, and entered not 'into the holy places made with hands, which are the figures of the true; but into heaven itself, there to appear in the presence of God for us' (Heb. ix. 24).

§ 2. *The Promise.*

The possibility of this reconcilement between God and His offending creatures was already hinted, as we saw, in shadowy and symbolic ordinances of the

CHAP. III. legal system. But there was another and a more explicit way in which the future exaltation of mankind was intimated to the members of the Hebrew Church. As early as the time of Abraham, the evangelic 'Promise' had obtained a definite expression; the Gospel had been 'preached before' (Gal. iii. 8).

The Protevangelium.

I shall not reopen old discussions touching the amount of hope derivable from the sentence passed on him who tempted our first parents. Many Christians have discovered there a kind of 'Protevangelium,' or 'grand charter of God's mercy after the fall;'[1] others, the incipient germ which every future promise only served to ripen and develope;[2] and St. Paul appears himself to countenance these expositions when the victory of Christ is represented as the bruising of Satan's power beneath the feet of Christians (Rom. xvi. 20). It may nevertheless be granted that the language used in Genesis might originally produce in man no very definite ideas either of the Person, or the nature of his future Champion. All that our first parents gathered from it may have been the vast

[1] Bp. Sherlock, *On Prophecy*, Disc. III. p. 78.

[2] Fairbairn, *Typol. of Scripture*, I. 193. This is not the place to take in hand a critical refutation of the views propounded in the recent work of Dr. Donaldson with reference to the correct interpretation of Gen. iii. 15. As one of the assailants of those views most truly urges, the translation of 'what is usually considered as the first Messianic promise' is 'so gross that it will not bear rendering into English.' *Remarks on Dr. Donaldson's Book, entitled* 'Jashar,' by Mr. J. J. S. Perowne, 2nd ed. p. 24. It is however satisfactory to add, that all Hebrew scholars with whom I have had an opportunity of conversing on the subject, strongly reprobate the exposition there advanced. They hold that it is philologically desperate, and could never have possessed itself of such a mind as Dr. Donaldson's, had he not found it useful in the vindication of his favourite theory, touching the non-existence of all moral agents other than the human: cf. above, p. 100, note.

but vague assurance that their forfeited possession, with its peace and harmony and innocence, was not lost for ever, but would be restored on the discomfiture of him whose instigations led to their expulsion. In that case the *how* and *when* would be reserved for some ulterior promise. CHAP. III.

The call of Abraham.

It is however certain that a root and starting-point of such explicit revelations had been found in Abraham, the friend of God, the father of the faithful; and after his progeny was elected as the special vehicle of true religion, and its guardian in a world fast lapsing from the worship and the fear of God, or growing vain in their imaginations (Rom. i. 21), fuller beams of light were thrown continually upon the future history of his race, and on the hopes and prospects of mankind in general. 'From this time began that line of the divine oracles, which, first being preserved in his family, and afterwards secured in record, has never been broken nor lost, but having successively embraced the Law, the Prophets, and the Gospel, is now completed, to remain the lasting and imperishable monument of Revealed Truth in the world.'[1] Accordingly we ascertain that while the better and more thoughtful class of heathen were compelled to seek relief in their embarrassments by dreaming of some golden age that might eventually come round afresh, and reinstate them in some lost inheritance; the Hebrew always proved himself a man of the future. The genius of his religion was pre-eminently hopeful. He was ever in the attitude of expectation,[2] ever reaching forward to an age of

[1] Davison, *Discourses on Prophecy*, p. 97, 4th ed.

[2] '*Expectation* then,' says the lamented Archer Butler, 'is the

CHAP. III. glory, of enlargement, of deliverance, when his race would be superlatively blessed, and prove itself the bearer of unuttered blessings to all tribes and families of man.

Indefinite form of the early Promise.

I grant that in its earlier form the prophecy to which these hopes were clinging with so much of ardour and tenacity was comparatively dim, indefinite and enigmatical; nor could it, under Hebraism, assume the spiritual aspect which the promises of God possess when contemplated by ourselves from Christian points of view. Yet on the other hand we should remember that such characteristics harmonise with the prevailing methods, tone and spirit of the old œconomy. The symbolical and typical versions of the legal system have their parallel in what may be esteemed the Hebrew and the Christian versions of the Promise. Thus, the very first conceptions of man's rescue from the consequences of the fall may have been only rude approximations to the great reality. They may have reached no further than the thought of some divine interposition which should mitigate the ills of life, and make the earth a more congenial habitation. Again, although the wording of the curse[1] denounced on men's seducer (Gen. iii. 15),

inward spirit of the Old Testament, as Fulfilment of the New. Wonderful itself, its function clearly is to testify wonders more august to come. From Moses to Malachi, these Hebrew Scriptures are, as it were, one long-drawn sigh of sorrowful hope.' *Sermons*, 1st series, p. 212, 3rd ed.

[1] The word זֶרַע (properly 'the act of sowing,' hence 'seed' and 'progeny' in general) would not of itself convey the idea of an individual, but rather of a plurality of descendants: cf. Rom. xvi. 20, and below, p. 125, n. 1. Accordingly Kurtz (*Gesch. des Alten Bundes*, 1. 62, 63), although recognising the prophetic character of the verse, takes the expression 'seed of the woman,' as equivalent to all the human race. 'Das ganze Menschengeschlecht (der Weibessame) soll den Kampf mit dem Urheber der Sünde kämpfen, und soll ihn kraft des göttlichen Willens *siegreich* kämpfen.'

would have doubtless made it evident that God was on *their* side, and not on his; the question whether a destructive blow then threatened was to be inflicted by the human species generally, by some peculiar race of Eve's descendants, or a single champion of that race, was for the present left unanswered. CHAP. III.

Nor am I contending that when Abraham received the promise, 'In thee (*or*, in thy seed) shall all the nations of the earth be blessed,' the language was entirely free from corresponding ambiguity.[1] The patriarch himself would probably discover there allusion to an individual Benefactor of the Abrahamic race. He may have also been enabled more and more, by his own want of territory, and his fuller

[1] Gen. xii. 2, 3; Gal. iii. 8. On a future occasion (Gen. xxii. 18) the phrase 'in thee' is explained 'in thy seed' (בְּזַרְעֶךָ), and in this expanded form the promise was republished, (1) in the case of Isaac (Gen. xxvi. 4), and (2) in that of Jacob (Gen. xxviii. 14). But the difficulty of applying the expression זֶרַע to an individual is apparent even at this last stage of the promise: for in the earlier member of the same verse (v. 14) it is prophesied that the seed of Jacob (זַרְעֶךָ) shall be as numerous 'as the dust of the earth:' cf. xxii. 17, 18. On the other hand it has been argued from St. Paul's distinction between 'seed' and 'seeds' (Gal. iii. 16), and his exposition of the 'one seed' as prophetic of the Messiah, that the patriarchs may have been taught by such expressions as occur in Gen. xxii. 18, to expect an individual Saviour. I do not think it unlikely that they had by some course or other arrived at this conclusion: the language of our Lord Himself implies as much, when He says, 'Your father Abraham rejoiced to see my day; and he saw it, and was glad' (John viii. 56). Still it is next to certain that St. Paul, in the passage above quoted, did not mean to rest this inference on the Hebrew equivalent of 'seed.' His meaning rather is, that the promise was not given to all the *σπέρματα* (posterities, or descendants) of Abraham, but only to the single line of Isaac, that, *viz.* of which 'Christ' (the *κεφαλή* and *πλήρωμα* of all the Christian body) was the representative and consummation: see ver. 29. The form *σπέρματα* is used in this way by Joseph. *Antiq.* VIII. 7, 6 (*παῖς ἐκ βασιλικῶν σπερμάτων*): and St. Paul elsewhere (1 Cor. xii. 12) considers *ὁ Χριστός* as involving mystically the whole spiritual organism, the Church united with Him: cf. Tholuck's Appendix to Dissert. I. *Epist. to the Hebrews*, ii. 230 sq.

CHAP. III. insight into the mysterious ways of God, to separate the spiritual from the temporal branches of the Promise,[1] to see through the earthly blessing more and more distinctly in proportion as it was deferred, and so recognise in the Messiah, not only an illustrious Chieftain who should stretch His sceptre over all the land of Canaan, but a glorious Agent for disseminating true religion, and restoring peace and righteousness to man. Yet even thus the image of the future Christ was little more than outline. Subsequent disclosures were required to fill the outline up, to introduce fresh features, to supply more special characteristics, to combine ideas of death and suffering with ideas of conquest and of glorification, till the Personage who stands before us in the visions of Isaiah[2] might hereafter be at once identified with the exalted Son of Mary, and apostles be enabled to establish from the ancient Scriptures that Jesus is the Christ.[3]

But the peculiar forms and aspects thus assumed

[1] See the reasoning on this subject in Hebr. xi. 9, 10.

[2] 'What less have we in the single book of Isaiah than the *scheme* of the Gospel, and the *establishment* of it, unfolded? The mission of Christ into the world, his original Divine Nature, his supernatural birth in his incarnation, his work of mercy and his kingdom of righteousness; his humiliation, sufferings, and death; the sacrifice of atonement for sin made by his death; the effusion of the gifts and grace of the Holy Spirit; the enlarged propagation of his religion; the persecutions of it; the moral characters of it; the blindness and incredulity of the Jewish people in the rejection of it; the adoption of the Gentile world into the Church and people of God; the peace of the righteous in death, and the triumph and victory of God's mercy, in behalf of man, over death?' Davison, *On Prophecy*, pp. 272, 273. Even Mr. F. W. Newman was so affected by some of these passages that, to use his own expressions, 'they were the very last link of my chain that snapt.' *Phases of Faith*, pp. 195, 196.

[3] See, for instance, Acts iii. 24 sq.; xviii. 28; xxiv. 14; xxvi. 22 sq.; xxviii. 23. This method they had learned from Him, who, 'beginning at Moses and all the prophets, expounded unto them *in all the Scriptures* the things concerning Himself:' see Luke xxiv. 24—27..

Objections to the received views of prophecy.

from time to time by Messianic intimations of the Old Testament have proved a fruitful source of modern scepticism. The evidence of prophecy to which all fathers and apologists of the Early Church assigned the very greatest prominence,[1] and which in fact secured for Christianity a number of its ablest champions and its brightest luminaries,[2] is decried as shallow, impotent, and inconclusive. A living writer who described the several steps by which the old 'religion of the letter' is gradually 'renounced,' informs us that the Christian Church has been crippled ever since the first century by its acquiescence in the following proposition, *viz.* that 'the Jewish teacher Jesus fulfilled the conditions requisite to constitute him the Messiah of the ancient Hebrew prophets.'[3] Others, who decline to say expressly whether they have also lost their faith in the Messiahship of Jesus, manifest the same antipathy to all external evidences, and more especially to that by which His claims to

[1] Thus, Justin Martyr, speaking of the evidence of prophecy, says, ἥπερ μεγίστη καὶ ἀληθεστάτη ἀπόδειξις, καὶ ὑμῖν, ὡς νομίζομεν, φανήσεται: *Apol.* I. c. 30. St. Augustine has numerous passages to the same effect: *e.g.* 'Nam de prophetia convincimus contradicentes paganos. Quid est Christus? dicit paganus: cui respondemus, Quem prænunciaverunt prophetæ.' *Tractat.* XXXV. *in Johan.* § 7, ed. Benedict.

[2] Justin Martyr, Clemens Alexandrinus, Tertullian, Lactantius, and Arnobius were all originally heathen, and all attribute their conversion to the intimate correspondence between the facts of the New Testament and the predictions of the Old: Lyall's *Propædia Prophetica*, p. 88.

[3] Newman's *Phases of Faith*, p. 202. He adds (p. 225) that the heavy yoke imposed on Christians of the present day arises from our claiming 'Messiahship for Jesus.' 'This,' it is alleged, 'gave a premium to crooked logic, in order to prove that the prophecies meant what they did not mean, and could not mean. This put the Christian church into an essentially false position, by excluding from it in the first century all the men of most powerful and cultivated understanding among the Greeks and Romans:' cf. the language of an ancient scoffer in Origen, *contra Celsum*, Lib. I. p. 39, ed. Spencer.

CHAP. III. such an office have been hitherto supported. The prophets, it is urged, *may* have in every case had reference primarily to events and persons of their own day, or at least so nearly contemporaneous that the spiritual gift they exercised was rather one of predication than prediction; and therefore that the Christian acts unfairly to the Holy Scriptures when he construes language spoken primarily of Hebrew kings, or of the sacred family at large, as a direct and literal prophecy of Christ. Such language, say our critics, can be honestly adduced in no other way than as the language of allegory or of general illustration.

Germinant accomplishments of prophecy.

Now without pausing to remind objectors of this second class that all their animadversions will extend far higher even than the saints and worthies of the ancient Church, it may suffice to answer that the strength of such an argument is drawn from considerations neither probable in themselves, nor warranted by the phenomena of Holy Scripture. For even were we to admit that *all* the prophecies are capable of being referred to circumstances actually or proximately contemporaneous,—an assumption[1] than which

[1] Take, for instance, one of the first passages in which both Jews and Christians of all times have recognised the promise of a personal Messiah (Gen. xlix. 8—10). Whether the true reading (in ver. 10) be שִׁילֹה (retained in the Samaritan), or שִׁלֹה (= LXX. τὰ ἀποκείμενα αὐτῷ and ᾧ ἀπόκειται), between which critics are divided: and whether, secondly, we interpret שִׁילֹה as the *subject* of the verb, 'Man of Rest,' 'the Rest-bringer,' corresponding to 'the Prince of Peace,' in Is. ix. 5; or with those moderns who virtually reject the Messianic interpretation, make שִׁילֹה the *object* of the verb, and translate (1) 'until he (Judah) comes to Shiloh' (the well-known locality in Ephraim); or else (2) 'until he (Judah) comes to rest,' *i. e.* rest in the land of Canaan,—the fulfilment of Jacob's language is in every case removed into a distant future. The same is equally true

nothing is more arbitrary and unjustifiable,—does it necessarily follow that a second Person, standing in the same relations, or a second series of analogous events, may not have been embraced within the scope of the original prediction?[1] May not one fulfilment of a prophecy be leading up men's thoughts and aspirations to another less immediate but more literal? May not an imperfect realisation of the prophet's language be the pledge and prelude of a second still more glorious and exhaustive? Is the Bible such a plain and superficial document that the discovery of these fresh and deeper meanings should in any wise offend us? The truth is, that a mind impressed with reverence for the Holy Scriptures, searching them with the conviction that Christ is to be found in every quarter, in the Law of Moses, in the prophets, and in the Psalms, will be prepared for such phenomena. Whatever they may be to others, they will constitute for him a portion of that marvellous fulness and fertility which characterise the works of the Omnipotent. He sees, for instance, that when prophets of the age of the Captivity foretell the

of the next important prophecy mentioned in the Pentateuch (Numb. xxiv. 17): for whether the 'Star out of Jacob' be an image of the Israelitish royalty in general, or of an actual king like David, or of Christ Himself, *the* king of Israel, a mighty interval exists between the date of the prediction and the earliest fulfilment of it. Other instances are the 2nd and 72nd Psalms, the latter of which Mr. Newman himself urges 'was never fulfilled by any historical king:' *Phases*, p. 194.

[1] Bacon suggests that all interpreters should allow 'that latitude which is agreeable and familiar unto divine prophecies, being of the nature of their Author, with whom a thousand years are but as one day, and therefore are not fulfilled punctually at once, but have springing and germinant accomplishment throughout many ages; though the height or fulness of them may refer to some one age.' *Advancement of Learning*, Bk. II. Works, I. 49. Lond. 1765: cf. Nares, *View of the Prophecies*, pp. 92 sq., Lond. 1805, and Davison, pp. 195 sq.

CHAP. III. grandeur of the Messianic period, very many of their figures are derived from the anterior age of David. The name[1] of him who governed Israel as the righteous representative of God, becomes the name of the Messiah: the seat of empire is the Holy Land; the growth and ultimate glorification of the theocracy is shadowed out as a reunion of Judah and Israel on their return from the dispersion: and why? Because the elder system was in all its parts prophetic; because it typified, and was designed to pass into the later; because the Christ of prophecy was the all-righteous King of Judah, and has verily succeeded to the throne of His father David; because the restoration from captivity was itself an earnest and a prelude of the Messianic deliverance; and because all nations, when they met as brethren in the bosom of the Church of Christ, have recognised in Jerusalem the birth-place and metropolis of the new œconomy, and are ready to exclaim with Jews and proselytes of old, 'All my fresh springs shall be in thee' (Ps. lxxxvii. 7). Or if the sacred writer contemplate the fortunes of the Hebrew commonwealth as in many ways repeated in the life of the Messiah:[2] if he shew,

[1] See, for example, Ezek. xxxvii. 24, 25, which is peculiarly perplexing to Mr. Newman (*Phases*, p. 193). He fails to perceive that the whole of the prophet's description is *ideal*, though the re-appearance of 'David' on the earth is sufficient to intimate this, and that a barely 'literal' fulfilment is not to be expected. 'The prophecy,' as Mr. Fairbairn remarks, (*Ezekiel*, p. 363) 'is a detailed picture of coming good, drawn, as such a picture must have been, under the form of the old covenant-relations....The whole earth is as much Christ's rightful heritage as the territory and people of Canaan were David's; and only when it becomes His actual possession, can the prophecy respecting Him, as the New Testament David, reach its destined accomplishment.'

[2] Cf. Dr. Mill's *Christ. Adv. Publ.* (1844), pp. 411 sq., who justly observes in treating of a similar case (p. 408): 'There are other matters necessary to the right understanding of sacred pro-

for instance, that our blessed Lord in early childhood was compelled by hard necessity to sojourn in the land of Egypt, finding an asylum in that very region which supplied a cradle to the Hebrew race, such incidents are placed together as related, harmonising and analogous, because the Christ is verily *the* promised Seed; because He is the Head and Antitype of God's collective First-born; and because He only realised in all their fulness the exalted characteristics which Israel as a nation was commissioned to exhibit and diffuse.

State of feeling on these subjects among the Jews.

And that Hebrews were themselves alive to such ulterior and more perfect realisations of the elder covenant, and frequently discerned the fitness of this ὑπόνοια in the language and general structure of the prophecies, we are enabled to establish fully from their extant literature.[1] They welcomed every voice that issued from the desert with the faintest whispers of Messiah. His birth, His life, His kingdom, widely as they often erred in estimating the nature, colouring and effect of these, were constantly suggested to their thoughts; and therefore when St. Matthew, writing for the special benefit of Jews, alluded to examples where predictions were fulfilled in that higher sense, or when St. Paul, endeavouring to reclaim the Judaizers of Galatia, declared that the arrangements of the Abrahamic family with reference to the child of promise were so ordered as to intimate that such a child must be extraordinary and begotten from above, they neither of them ran the risk of serious miscon-

phecies beside the bare rules (which no sane man despises) of grammatical interpretation.'

[1] See Schöttgen, *Horæ Hebraicæ*, passim: and Mill, as above, p. 418.

CHAP. III. ception, nor were open to the charge of sheltering their arguments beneath a fanciful exegesis.

I grant that earnest minds have varied in their power of tracing and appreciating the great ideas that connect these deeper meanings of the Bible with the naked and more primary sense. I grant that in the present day the general tendency of thought is adverse to such methods of interpretation,[1] and that writers who pride themselves on the superiority of their critical acumen, are never more successful in the judgment of the undiscriminating and the superficial, than in their attempts to underrate the mysteries of Holy Scripture. But the course of my argument is not affected by this circumstance. I am endeavouring to ascertain what were the leading features of the Old-Testament religion as interpreted by persons occupying the position of the Hebrews; and with reference to the topic now before us, it remains indisputable that either owing to the character of their sacred books, or to some other agency, they were emphatically men of hope. In spite of every storm that darkened the immediate future of the Church, they looked with yearning confidence to what they called 'the times of restitution and re-

[1] It should, however, be stated that the age is not without examples of a healthier tendency. Thus the reaction in De Wette's mind impelled him to make the following acknowledgment in addition to what has been already cited (p. 82): 'Kein durchaus leeres Spiel war die typologische Vergleichung des A. T. mit dem N. T. Auch ist es schwerlich blosser Zufall, dass *die evangelische Geschichte in den bedeutendsten Momenten der mosaischen parallel geht.* Im Judenthum lag, wie im Keime Blätter und Früchte, das Christenthum. Freilich bedurfte es der göttlichen Sonne um hervorzubrechen.' And Umbreit has very recently (*Studien und Kritiken*, 1855, 3tes Heft, pp. 573 sq.) abandoned the un-Messianic interpretation of Is. vii. 14, which he had formerly endeavoured to establish.

freshing,' of peace, forgiveness, and redemption. They took refuge in this 'world to come,'[1]—an age when temporal evils would be all corrected or exhausted, when mercy and truth would meet together, and righteousness and peace would kiss each other, when Zion under the benignant rule of Christ would shew herself the mother-city of a world-embracing system, and 'all nations flow' to her for solace and for light. CHAP. III.

Admissions of modern sceptics.

And it is most observable, that however modern sceptics may account for the origin and intensity of this conviction, its existence at the birth of Christ is now commonly admitted. The recognition of His claims by many of His fellow-countrymen in Palestine and other regions, is attributed to the fact that He was generally expected. And this fact indeed is absolutely necessary to the establishment of the Straussian hypothesis on the composition of the sacred Gospels. The national mind, it is discovered, must have been occupied completely with expectations of some great Deliverer, or ideal portraits such as those ascribed to Jesus of Nazareth by His followers, could not possibly have been conceived. And with this view accords the language of Mr. Mackay, a main pillar of the Absolute Religion. 'The fund of Hebrew hope,' he writes,[2] 'was as immeasurable as the

[1] Schöttgen, II. 23 sq.: cf. *Ep. to Hebrews*, II. 5, VI. 5. Winer, who is certainly not inclined to over-estimate the Divine element in Holy Writ, makes the following statement on this subject: 'Nur in einer Beziehung treten sie [die Propheten] aus ihrem durch die Zeitverhältnisse bedingten Gesichtskreise heraus und richten den Blick des Volks auf eine fern liegende ideale Zukunft, dann nämlich, wenn sie, durch die Betrachtung der nächsten Zukunft nicht befriedigt, von dem grossen Nationalretter (Messias) und dem hochbeglückten Zeitalter reden,' u. s. w. *Realwörterbuch*, s. v. *Propheten*, II. 279, 3rd ed.

[2] *Progress of the Intellect*, II.

CHAP. III. power of the invisible Sovereign; and it was even anticipated that the prospective kingdom would embrace universal dominion, a dominion coextensive with the theoretical (?) empire of the Deity over the whole earth.' According to Mr. Mackay, the origin of these profound convictions was entirely human and subjective. The Messiah-doctrine, he conjectures,[1] was 'a joint product of the misfortunes of the times and of the theocratic constitution,' the experience of a want in this and other instances exciting 'the imagination to fill up the blank out of its own resources.'

But there is one other class of writers whom we ought in fairness to examine before this startling verdict is accepted. We shall always, it is true, be grateful to the advocate of the 'religion of humanity' who confesses the existence of Messianic predictions, or at least discovers new presentiments in favour of the Gospel; yet he must excuse us if when he proposes such inadequate explanation of the origin of these presentiments, we seek elsewhere for less fantastic guides and more intelligible reasons. Mr. Mackay and his friends may treat the Hebrew prophets as the μαντεῖς, or the preachers, as the rhetoricians, or the improvisatori of the times in which they flourished; he may find in all their loftiest utterances no more than natural guesses of a thoughtful mind, or the creations of an eastern fancy: but

209. He refers to the same phenomenon in his later work (*Rise and Progress of Christianity*, p. 15, Lond. 1854): 'Through a long series of misfortunes the Jews had been constantly supported by the expectation of a great deliverer, called emphatically the anointed king, or Messiah, who would restore the ancient glory of their theocracy, or Divine Kingdom, as it existed under David and Solomon, inaugurating at the same time a new reign of righteousness.'

[1] *Progress of the Intellect*, II. 210.

we who look at them with different eyes, who have been taught to 'worship the God of our fathers, believing all things which are written in the Law and in the prophets,' shall rather form our estimate of the phenomena in question after hearing what the sacred writers tell us of themselves and of their own experiences.

The scriptural account of prophecy:

Now prophecy, in their meaning of the term, is a peculiar characteristic of Revealed Religion. There is doubtless no lack of oracles and divination, of augurs and of fortune-tellers in the various records of the heathen world;[1] but we shall look in vain to them for what is everywhere discovered in the Bible.[2] We shall look in vain for series of explicit prophecies, arising not from a mastery which the seer possesses over hidden powers of nature, nor from the effects of some delirious intoxication, where his reasoning faculties are all suspended, but from holy, calm, and conscious intercourse with God Himself, the personal Revealer, who in due time vindicates the character of the prophecy by bringing it to pass. 'Produce your cause, saith the Lord: bring forth your strong reasons, saith the King of Jacob. Let them bring them forth, and shew us what shall happen: let them

[1] On the fundamental distinction between prophecy and all forms of heathen divination, see Hävernick, *Einleitung*, II. ii. 29 sq., and J. Smith's chapter on the 'Difference of the true prophetical spirit from all enthusiastical imposture:' *Select Discourses*, pp. 190 sq. Lond. 1660.

[2] Cf. Mr. Morgan's *Christianity and Modern Infidelity*, pp. 120 sq. Lond. 1854. 'The Hebrew Scriptures, then,' writes Archer Butler, 'themselves, and the people and polity which form their singular subject, intimate a wonderful *future*, and point altogether to it, and are wholly inexplicable unless on the supposition of it. This at once distinguishes it [? them] from every other ancient writing of the same kind; *among all national literatures this makes the Jewish unique.*' Sermons, 1st ser. pp. 209, 210, 3rd ed.

CHAP. III. shew the former things what they be, that we may consider them, and know the latter end of them; or declare us things for to come. Shew the things that are to come hereafter, that we may know that ye are gods."[1] And as Jehovah challenges the idols of the heathen, bidding them establish their title to divinity by putting forth prophetic gifts, so all His messengers were ever conscious of the special nature of their calling, and have drawn the clearest possible distinctions between the true and false in prophecy. 'Woe,' their cry was 'unto the foolish prophets, that *follow their own spirit, and have seen nothing*' (Ezek. xiii. 3). They were persuaded that the office of the genuine seer had brought him into close communion with the fountain of all knowledge; and prophecy was therefore, in his case, a real opening of things secret, an objective revelation of the plans and purposes of God[2] (Amos iii. 7; Is. xliii. 12). He *saw* what he describes: he was assured of it by some immediate intuition.[3] Exalted to a higher

its reality and objectivity.

[1] Is. xli. 21—23. Bp. Lowth (*Isaiah*, p. 106, Lond. 1778) translates the second member of v. 21: 'Produce these your mighty powers,' making the challenge apply directly to the false divinities. St. Jerome (*in loc.*) sees in the passage an allusion to the fact that heathen oracles were all silenced at the coming of Christ. 'Si ergo suum interitum non potuere prædicere, quomodo aliena, vel mala, vel bona, potuerint nunciare?' He then adds: 'Quod si aliquis dixerit, multa ab idolis esse prædicta, hoc sciendum quod semper mendacium junxerint veritati; et sic sententias temperarint, ut seu boni seu mali quid accidisset, utrumque posset intelligi.'

[2] Witsius in one of his able *Miscellanea* ('De Prophetis et Prophetia') establishes the following definition of prophecy: 'Cognitio et patefactio rerum arcanarum, quas quis non ex propria solertia neque ex aliorum relatu, sed ex cœlesti atque extraordinaria Dei revelatione novit:' Lib. i. c. 2, § 1.

[3] See the recent discussion of this subject in Mr. Lee's *Inspiration of Holy Scripture*, pp. 167 sq. Lond. 1854;—a treatise well deserving the attention of all biblical scholars who rejoice to see exactness of thought combined with fulness of knowledge and a reverential spirit.

sphere of thought, admitted to a deeper survey of the world invisible, the prophets for the time were made recipients of supernatural communications. These the Lord Himself presented to them, and these they apprehended by an organ of the soul which corresponded to their outer vision, and which equally convinced them of the truth and objectivity of what they saw. While, on the contrary, all forms of pseudo-prophecy were utterly subjective. There was no external fact according with its utterances, nor with the impulse of the human spirit. The diviner may in many cases have been perfectly sincere, and many of the heathen oracles when consulted on religious questions may have given answers highly calculated to protect the interests of morality: but all their best vaticinations, if not due exclusively to human shrewdness and reflection, were so many vague forebodings and presentiments: they spoke 'out of their own hearts' (Ezek. xiii. 2). CHAP. III.

Assailants of this view.

Such then is the grand distinction which the sacred writers uniformly draw between the nature of prophetic visions and all merely human efforts to obtain a knowledge of the will of God, and penetrate the mysteries of the invisible. Yet strange to say, the testimony of the prophets on this subject is rejected by the speculators of the present day, in order to make room for novel theories, wild and arbitrary in their form,[1] if not completely pantheistic in their

[1] Thus, Mr. Edward Strachey, writing on *Hebrew Politics in the times of Sargon and Sennacherib*, (Lond. 1853) does not scruple to make the following unqualified assertion (p. 5): 'The prophets were the preachers, not the predicters, the forth-speakers of God's eternal plan and methods of governing man, not foretellers of particular events, of and to their nation. *This was what our Lord and his apostles understood by the name, and so has it always been*

CHAP. III. tendency. Where prophecies of redemption are not construed as the mere projections of the human consciousness, or yearnings prompted by the want of some Redeemer, they are all resolved into peculiarities of natural temperament, in such a way as to discard the operation of the Holy Spirit, and repudiate every trace of an objective element. The founder of this school was Benedict de Spinosa. Starting as he did with a belief that God was only a generalised expression for all natural causes; he laboured to obliterate the distinction between a personal Revealer and the subject of the revelation. He held that the real source[1] of all predictions lay in the imaginative faculty, that when the prophets are said to have been full of the Holy Ghost, the meaning is[2] that they were men of singular virtue and exalted piety, and that as their admirers were ignorant of the true causes of prophetic knowledge, they were in the habit of ascribing it, like other portents, to an act of God Himself. As one corollary from his main positions he contended that 'prophetic' gifts were not peculiar[3] to the Hebrew nation, but diffused in

understood in modern times of earnestness and zeal.' In a postscript (p. 352) the author adds: 'I have not now first to acknowledge how greatly I owe to Mr. Maurice my principles and method of considering Hebrew prophecy; but their application is my own.'

[1] *Tractatus Theologico-Politici*, c. II. p. 15, Hamburg, 1670. 'Qui igitur,' it is added, 'sapientiam, et veram naturalium et spiritualium cognitionem ex Prophetarum libris investigare student, tota errant via: quod, quoniam tempus, philosophia et denique res ipsa postulat, hic fuse ostendere decrevi, parum curans quid superstitio ogganniat, quæ nullos magis odit quam qui veram scientiam, veramque vitam colunt.'

[2] *Ibid.* c. I. p. 13.

[3] He infers this chiefly from the case of Balaam, who although a true prophet is called by Joshua (xiii. 22) הַקּוֹסֵם, 'the diviner.' But see Kurtz, *Gesch. des Alten Bundes*, II. 457 sq. where it is shewn (after Hengstenberg) that Balaam was really verging to the confines of heathen magic, though he had not altogether lost his early faith in the One true God.

every part of heathendom. These principles when first advanced by Spinosa were generally execrated as 'atheistic;' but after passing through the crucible of certain German theologians,[1] they are not unfrequently espoused in England by the friends of progress, and the adherents of the Absolute Religion. In spite of all the protests which their authors have inserted to the contrary, the prophecies in general, not excluding those which are entitled Messianic, are stripped of their divine authority, and treated as the outbreak of an ardent patriotism, a feverish zeal, or an exuberant imagination. CHAP. III.

I grant indeed that some few sparks of truth may be detected here and there amid the theorisings of this modern school. The prophet, for example, never lost his individuality.[2] His natural faculties were not suspended nor coerced by the incoming of a higher agency. The style, the language, the poetic colouring, the restricted knowledge of all subjects not designed to be included in the scope of the prediction, were his own. He was an inspired *man*, the human and Divine factors coalescing, harmonising, and co-operating in the exhibition of the thing revealed. But after these concessions have been made, it seems

[1] The name of Schleiermacher must be added to this number. His views respecting the Old Testament in general were most derogatory. For instance, he maintains the following position in his treatise *Der Christliche Glaube* (I. 77 sq. 3rd ed. Berlin, 1835): 'Das Christenthum steht zwar in einem besonderen geschichtlichen Zusammenhange mit dem Judenthum; was aber sein geschichtliches Dasein und seine Abzweckung betrifft, so verhält es sich zu Judenthum und Heidenthum gleich.' With regard to the Messianic predictions of the Old Testament, he observes (*Ibid.* p. 96) that their chief value to us arises from the evidence they furnish of a 'striving of human nature towards Christianity,' and of the preparatory aim of earlier institutions: cf. p. 80.

[2] Cf. Lee, as above, p. 179; Fairbairn, *Ezekiel*, Pref. p. vii.

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to me unquestionable, that no theory will explain the statements of the sacred prophets, nor account for the sublime phenomena of revelation, which neglects to recognise in prophecy the workings of a supernatural Agent, opening, elevating and directing the spirit of the seers, presenting to their inner vision images of things to come, and thus supplying an objective and historic basis for the faith and aspirations of the Israelite. And such is certainly the view adopted by the writers of the New Testament. Respecting that salvation which has been accomplished in Christianity, the prophets are said to have 'inquired and searched diligently, who prophesied of the grace that should come unto us; searching what, or what manner of time the Spirit of Christ which was in them did signify, when it testified beforehand the sufferings of Christ, and the glory that should follow' (1 Pet. i. 10, 11): 'for prophecy came not in old time by the will of man; but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost' (2 Pet. i. 21).

Hebrew prophecy as based on history, and intertwined with it.

Nor are those the only criteria by which genuine prophecy is separable from all human substitutes, and from the auguries and divinations of the heathen world. It stood from first to last in vital union with monotheism: it kept pace with the expansion of man's faculties, and aided in the gradual training of the sacred commonwealth. As one agent in the mighty course of operations that has issued in the planting of a catholic Church, its form and structure were peculiarly adapted to the exigencies of the period[1] out of which it grew. Prophecy, in other

[1] This peculiarity was noticed long ago by St. Augustine (*Epist.* CII. § 15: *Opp.* II. 211, ed. Bened.): 'Et tamen ab initio generis hu-

words, was so completely interwoven with the fortunes of the Abrahamic race as to supply continual answers in the moment of perplexity, and even to convert the darkest epochs of their lifetime into fresh occasions for directing them to the Messiah, and that period when they should 'receive of the Lord's hand double for all their sins.' While the presentiments that rose in other countries were but dim and floating visions of the night, with nothing in the past or present where they could attach themselves, and therefore destitute of moral power and practical results; the Messianic doctrine of the Hebrews was real, living, and coherent. In their nation where it is confessed[1] no period seems to have existed when the 'historical sense' was not developed, prophecy obtained immense advantages by calling to its aid the associative faculty,[2] by clothing future incidents in imagery consecrated by the memories of the past,

mani, alias occultius, alias evidentius, *sicut congruere temporibus* divinitus visum est, nec prophetari destitit, nec qui in eum crederent defuerunt, ab Adam usque ad Moysen, et in ipso populo Israel, quæ speciali quodam mysterio gens prophetica fuit, et in aliis gentibus antequam venisset in carne.' Mr. Trench, *Hulsean Lectures* (1845) p. 86, suggests the same thought: 'And thus (did time allow) we might trace in much more detail how not only in the idea of type and prophecy, there is obedience to that law of advance and progress, which we have everywhere been finding, but in the very order and sequence of the prophecies themselves.'

[1] Grote's *Hist. of Greece*, I. 492, Lond. 1849. This writer thinks that the 'historical sense' did not arise in the superior intellects of Greece till B.C. 700.

[2] Cf. Mr. Lee's remarks on this subject (*Inspiration of Holy Scripture*, pp. 149 sq.) which he introduces in the following passage: 'In considering the single predictions of Scripture apart from the complete structure of Prophecy, we may observe, that a certain method has been almost uniformly pursued, which constitutes, as it were, the *Law* according to which the different portions of God's Revelation have been communicated;—namely, that each prediction, with scarcely an exception, proceeds from and attaches itself to some definite fact in the historical present.'

CHAP. III. and finding in the altered aspects of society a stock of fresh material[1] for increasing the vividness of its descriptions and the area of its field of vision.

Prophecy was thus the living voice of God that went along continually with the development of the Hebrew nation. When it spoke the parched and joyless desert seemed to blossom like the rose, and minister fresh streams of comfort and of blessing: men 'drank of the spiritual Rock which followed them, and that Rock was Christ.' It smoothed the pillow of the dying patriarch, convincing him that there was still some better and enduring substance in reserve: it taught his children to exclaim, as Jacob did before them: 'I have waited for Thy salvation, O Lord' (Gen. xlix. 18). It inspired the Israelites, when they went forth a youthful people with the Lord Jehovah at their head, to occupy the soil which He had promised to their fathers. It consoled them in the midst of sterner scenes at Horeb: it allayed the apprehensions there awakened by the awful promulgation of the Decalogue; and as 'the light that shineth in a dark place,' it pointed to the possibility of milder institutions and the coming of a second Legislator.[2] It grew more definite and

[1] 'Mir ist die Weissagung eine objective Mittheilung göttlichen Wissens an den Menschen, aber eine solche, die den Zuständen der jedesmaligen Gegenwart sich lebendig anschliesst, ihren Bedürfnissen entgegenkommt, den Factoren der Entwicklung sich organisch einfügt. Die Abhängigkeit der Weissagung von der Geschichte ist für mich keine andre als die, dass Gott die Samenkörner der Weissagung nicht eher ausstreut, als bis durch die von Ihm gelenkte Geschichte der Boden bereitet ist, dessen das Samenkorn bedarf, um Wurzel zu schlagen und Frucht zu bringen.' Kurtz, *Gesch. des Alten Bundes*, II. 550.

[2] See Deut. xviii. 15—19, Acts iii. 22, vii. 37, Hebr. xii. 18, 19: and cf. Sherlock, Disc. VI. pp. 127 sq. That the Jews and also the Samaritans of our Lord's age adopted the Messianic interpret-

explicit in proclaiming the Messiah, when an actual kingdom had been founded in Judæa, when the conquests of the son of Jesse had well-nigh exhausted the more secular branches of the Abrahamic promise, and the faithful had before their eyes a noble champion of the true religion. During all that gloomy series of disasters which ensued on the degeneracy of Solomon, and the divulsion of the sacred tribes, the deep-toned voice of prophecy was heard with greater frequency alike in Israel and in Judah. It guided and sustained a remnant of both countries by unfolding to their view the picture of reunion and enlargement, when after some thorough sifting of the Hebrew race, the fallen tabernacle of David[1] would be re-established in the midst of them; when exiles would return to 'seek the Lord their God, and David their king;'[2] when enemies of truth and righteousness would disappear like some majestic forest; while the Branch[3] CHAP. III.

ation is rendered highly probable by John vi. 14, v. 45—47, iv. 25. Some writers in modern times have argued that a general reference to the 'prophetic order' of the Old Testament is included in the word נָבִיא; while they maintain, however, that the one Prophet in whom the idea of such an order was fully realised, is the Messiah. See the arguments in favour of both views in Hengstenberg, *Christology of the Old Testament*, I. 95 sq. Edinb. 1854, and Kurtz, *Gesch. des Alten Bundes*, II. 513 sq. The latter expresses himself 'unconditionally for the exclusive reference to a single definite Person, *i. e.* to the Messiah' (p. 514).

[1] Amos ix. 11, 12: cf. Acts xv. 16, 17, and Hengstenberg, *Ibid.* I. 314 sq.

[2] Hosea iii. 4, 5. Hengstenberg (*Ibid.* I. 282) observes that 'by the *king David* the whole Davidic house is to be understood, which is here to be considered as an unity, in the same manner as is done in 2 Sam. vii. and in a whole series of Psalms which celebrate the mercies shewn, and to be shewn, to David and his house. These mercies are most fully concentrated in Christ.'

[3] Cf. Is. x. 33, 34 (where the proud armies of Assyria are mentioned under the figure of a mighty forest) with the opening verses of Is. xi. That the mysterious 'Child' of Is. ix. 6, is identical with the 'Immanuel' of Is. vii. 14, and both of them with the eternal 'Ruler' pointed out by a contemporary (Micah, v. 2 sq.), can scarcely admit of any question.

CHAP. III. emerging from the roots of Jesse would embrace the world beneath His shadow, would inaugurate a brighter era, would be called the Wonderful Counsellor, the Mighty God, the Everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace. When heavier ills descended, when the temple was itself defiled, and when the latest caravan of captives brought the tragic news of this calamity to Babylon, the land of the oppressor, it was still the Messianic promise of a righteous King and an eternal kingdom, that came forward to sustain the drooping spirit of the solitary mourner. And when at length the voice of prophecy was going to be hushed entirely, when the Church was to be left in solemn stillness, waiting for the manifestation of the glory of the Lord, the latest breath of Malachi, though stern and terrible for Israelites,[1] who would not rise to any true conception of the Messianic character, was full of hope and solace for the rest: it intimated the approach of times when every Gentile nation would unite in prayer and offerings with the holier section of the Hebrews, and the Sun of Righteousness arise with healing in His wings (Mal. i. 11; iv. 2).

Particular instances.

Abundant illustrations of this view of prophecy, elucidating the fitness of the various seasons when it spoke, and its peculiar adaptation to the wants, the faculties, and prospects of the Hebrews are furnished in all parts of the sacred volume: but my present

[1] See, for example, Zech. xi. where many of the Israelites are shewn symbolically to be filling up the measure of their fathers by rejecting the Good Shepherd; and in Malachi iii. 1—3, the Messenger of the Covenant whom they professed to delight in enters on His work by sifting not the heathen but the sacred family itself.

purpose will be answered if I draw attention to the age of David and the Babylonic exile. CHAP. III.

Prophecy in the age of David.

(1) In order to retain the Hebrews in the attitude of expectation, the time at which the Messianic promise would be realised was always indeterminate; and therefore when the sceptre came at length into the hands of David, many an eye would turn to him with ardent longing, and behold in him that son of Abraham, on whom their faith had long been centered. 'Is this not he that should come?' may well have been the general question. 'Peace is everywhere established from Dan to Beersheba; Moab, Ammon, Edom, and Philistia, who have hitherto curtailed our borders and wasted the flower of our armies, are content to rank among the vassals of the sacred family; the last fortress of the Canaanite has been reduced; and he who was the guiding spirit of those mighty operations is the head and life of our religious system. His hymns are on every tongue, and he has vowed that he will never rest until the worship of the Lord is firmly planted in his new metropolis, and also in the heart and conscience of his people.'

The Messiah was to be a King:

Now this juncture was the time selected for relieving men's disquietude, and pouring a fresh flood of light upon the Promise. The well-known intimations then conveyed to David form the basis of all future prophecies. Israel was instructed that his kingdom would supply the origin and groundwork of a greater, that when David had been gathered to his fathers, a posterity[1] descended from his loins

[1] The word is still זֶרַע (cf. above, p. 124, n. 1), and may therefore be understood collectively, *i. e.* of descendants in general, but as constituting an ideal unity. That the reference is not exclusively to Christ we must infer from vv. 14, 15: while, on

CHAP. III. would rear a temple to Jehovah; and that the throne of this posterity would be established for ever, yea, that God would be to it a Father, and it would be to Him a son (2 Sam. vii. 11—14). When Solomon was born this prophecy indeed *began* to be accomplished, and was more entirely brought to pass when he completed the erection of the temple, and the glory of the Lord was visible within its courts: yet he might learn from David to extend his views into the distant future,[1] and appears himself to have been conscious that his own achievements were utterly unable to exhaust the fulness of its meaning (1 Kings viii. 26, 27). From this time, however, the Messiah was expected as *the* King, the King of Israel, exalted on the throne of David, and in virtue of His close communion with the Lord Jehovah, an object of universal reverence, exercising justice and dispensing mercy to the various families of men.

of superhuman dignity;

The Hebrews thus obtained one definite image of the Christ; an image which enabled every thoughtful

the other hand, none but a superhuman Personage could realise the absolute perpetuity of the race, and fully satisfy the remaining conditions of the prophecy: cf. Acts ii. 30. On its intimate connexion with Ps. ii. and the light which is thereby thrown upon it, see Ebrard, *On the Epistle to the Hebrews*, pp. 39, 40, Edinb. 1853.

[1] In 2 Sam. vii. 19, David says, in his address to the Almighty, 'Thou hast spoken also to thy servant's house of things far distant' (לְמֵרָחוֹק); adding the remarkable words וְזֹאת תּוֹרַת הָאָדָם אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה, which, as compared with 1 Chron. xvii. 17, are thought by some to indicate the superhuman rank of the Messiah. See the different renderings in Mr. Barrett's *Synopsis of Criticisms*, II. 545 sq. Immediately before his death we find David occupied with the same magnificent thoughts respecting the destiny of his house (2 Sam. xxiii. 5): 'For is not my house so with God? For He hath made with me an everlasting covenant, ordered in all things and sure; for all my salvation and all my pleasure, should He not make it grow?'

mind among them to approximate more closely to a true conception of the great Deliverer. But the humanity of Christ was not the only characteristic which the prophet of that period was commissioned to unveil. A hymn[1] composed by David on a subsequent occasion represents his future Son returning as a warrior from conflicts where His enemies were miserably put to flight, and traces at the same time His majestic course to more than human impulses. The Son of David as there pictured occupies a most exalted station. He is David's Lord as well: He sits on no earthly throne, but at the side of God, the Unapproachable, a sharer of His glory, and a joint-administrator of His Kingdom.

and also a Priest.

And in order to prepare the Hebrew mind for still more wondrous revelations, and in order to exalt the thoughts and spiritualise the feelings with respect to their Messiah, and the elevation of His throne from earth to heaven, this passage also represents the Son and Lord of David in a different aspect, and a totally distinct capacity. The Law of Moses furnished no idea of any priesthood in connexion with the tribe of Judah (Heb. vii. 14): the union of royal and sacerdotal offices was made impossible by the arrangements of the old œconomy; and yet the Christ is there seen by David invested with the dignities of both.[2] He is the Priest-king of the Hebrews, in order that some work of expiation may be accomplished before

[1] Ps. cx. which is continually cited in the New Testament as David's and as also Messianic; *e. g.* by our Lord Himself, Matth. xxii. 43 sq.: cf. Hengstenberg, *On the Psalms*, III. 326 sq.

[2] See the remarkable parallel in Zech. vi. 12, 13, where the Man, whose name is the Branch, sits and rules as a Priest upon the throne, and the royal and sacerdotal offices are united in His person ('the counsel of peace shall be between them both').

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a people are prepared to offer themselves willingly to God, and so be worthy of enlistment in the cause of the Messiah, and of sharing in His universal conquests.

Doctrine of a suffering Messiah.

But this image of the Priest, suggesting as it does the thought of sacrifice, reminds us of new lessons which the Psalms of David would impress on every one who waited for redemption in Israel. It might indeed have been anticipated from the first that He who undertook the office of our Champion would encounter the resistance of the evil power which compassed our defeat and ruin; yet, never till the age of David was the Church invited to reflect distinctly on the picture of a Christ involved in danger, suffering and humiliation. The persecutions and distresses of the Israelitish monarch, and the obloquy which he endured in his attempts to vindicate the true religion, and promote the welfare of his country (Ps. lxix.), had prepared men for the thought that even righteous princes may not claim to be exempted[1] from the evils incident to our condition while on earth; and therefore had prepared them in some measure for the wondrous revelations of the 22nd Psalm. The servant of the Lord is there assailed by every species of malicious mockery. His enemies have pierced his hands and feet, and parted his garments among them; and, unsated by this foul barbarity, they feast their eyes upon the spectacle, and heighten his distress by

[1] The same lesson was forcibly inculcated in the whole Book of Job. 'By the side of a long line of prophecy, as a whole outwardly gorgeous and flattering, and promising in the Messiah a successful potentate and opener of a glorious temporal future for the Jewish nation, there rose one sad but faithful memento, and all that appearance of approaching splendour was seen in qualifying connexion with other truths.' *Christian Remembrancer* (1849), p. 208.

shouts of savage exultation. Now in reading such a psalm as this, a thoughtful Israelite may well ask his neighbour, 'Of whom speaketh the prophet? of himself, or of some other man?' and when no adequate fulfilment of that language can be traced in circumstances of the period, he will naturally regard it as predictive of some future sufferer; while the closing portions[1] of the Psalm compel him to identify that Sufferer with the glorious King he is expecting. For notwithstanding the extreme violence of persecution, the holy speaker is not overwhelmed by it. He is conscious that Jehovah interposes for his rescue, and he therefore registers a vow that he will dedicate to God a special service of thanksgiving; that high and low, of Israel and of every nation under heaven, shall be invited to a sacrificial feast, and join in celebrating his deliverance to all future ages. The truth appears to be that David on this and other like occasions spoke not merely for himself, but in the name of his posterity; nor is it difficult to trace a reason why the Psalms should bring to light the bitter sufferings of the king Messiah, and why earlier ages should be left comparatively ignorant of such truths. The Hebrew Church was, under David, passing from a state of meanness and depression, into one of ease,

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[1] The transition takes place at v. 22, and the magnificent picture of the whole world, as one result of the deliverance of God's servant, consecrating themselves to Jehovah, can only be realised in Gospel times. *Τούτων γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ Δαβὶδ ὁρῶμεν γεγενημένον, οὐδὲ ἐπί τινος τῶν ἐκ Δαβίδ. Μόνος δὲ ὁ Δεσπότης Χριστὸς, ὁ ἐκ Δαβὶδ κατὰ σάρκα, ὁ ἐνανθρώπησας Θεὸς λόγος, ὁ ἐκ Δαβὶδ λαβὼν τὴν τοῦ δούλου μορφήν. Πᾶσαν γὰρ γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν τῆς θεογνωσίας ἐπλήρωσε, καὶ πέπεικε τοὺς πάλαι πλανωμένους, καὶ τοῖς εἰδώλοις προσφέροντας τὴν προσκύνησιν, ἀντὶ τῶν οὐκ ὄντων, τὸν ὄντα προσκυνῆσαι Θεόν.* Theodoret, *in Psalm.* xxi: *Opp.* Tom. I. 481, Paris, 1642.

CHAP. III. prosperity and triumph. As a nation they began to feel their outward and material strength, and therefore ran the risk of sinking down into voluptuous self-security. If the idea of their Messiah had not been lost entirely, they might still have learned with many of their children in the days of Christ to picture Him as nothing but a temporal prince, combining the military strength of David with the peaceful pomp of Solomon. Checks were, therefore, given to these earthly tendencies by stating prominently how David suffered, and associating with this fact another truth, that sorrow and humiliation were reserved for his descendant. The unworldly visage of the Crucified was now uplifted for the study of the Hebrew Church:[1] the sufferings of Messiah were revealed as necessary preconditions of His universal empire and of the glory that should follow.

Prophecy in the age of the Captivity.

(2) We shall see, if I mistake not, further illustrations of these characteristics, or rather of this law of prophecy, if we turn to the disastrous age of the Captivity. How heavy a blow was then inflicted on the house of David and the hopes of all the Israelites! The kingdom of the ten tribes had been already 'broken from being a people:' they had fallen to the heathen level of impurity and licence, and were

[1] 'Et encore que le règne de ce grand Messie soit souvent prédit dans les Écritures sous des idées magnifiques, Dieu n'a point caché à David les ignominies de ce bénit fruit des ses entrailles. Cette instruction était nécessaire au peuple de Dieu. Si ce peuple encore infirme avait besoin d'être attiré par des promesses temporelles, il ne fallait pas pourtant lui laisser regarder les grandeurs humaines comme sa souveraine félicité et comme son unique récompense: c'est pourquoi Dieu montre de loin ce Messie tant promis et tant désiré, le modèle de la perfection et l'objet de ses complaisances, abîmé dans la douleur. La croix paraît à David comme le trône véritable de ce nouveau roi.' Bossuet, *Discours sur l'Hist. Universelle*, Partie II. § 4.

swallowed up in the Assyrian empire. In the mean- CHAP. III.
while partial reformations of the neighbouring state of Judah had in vain put off the evil day; corruption seemed incarnate in the person of Jehoiachin; the Hebrew Church was ripe for chastisement, and ready to pass under an eclipse: the promises of God were on the point of abrogation: the visibility of the theocracy was going to be lost; and all the members of the sacred commonwealth abandoned to the grasp of an imperious and blaspheming power. Yet the very moment when the prophet Jeremiah was commissioned to foretel this dread calamity, when he published what must have appeared to many the death-warrant of his nation, was also chosen as the time for granting to the Church a further glimpse of blessings to be afterwards her own. The picture of recovery from the power of Babylon appears to break entirely through the background of more gloomy visions, and the menace of the stern reformer ultimately softens down into an evangelic benediction.[1] Although the royalty of such a ruler as Jehoiachin must perish, and although his house shall never prosper, 'behold the days come, saith the Lord, that I will raise unto David a righteous Branch, and a King *shall* reign and prosper;' like his prototype the ancient David (2 Sam. viii. 15), 'he shall execute judgment and justice in the earth.' The tribes who constituted the ideal Church of God shall be hereafter

The new Kingdom.

[1] Cf. Jerem. xxii. 30 with xxiii. 5 sq. In Ezek. xxi. 25—27 we have the same kind of contrast; the period of suffering and desolation was to continue only till the age of the Messiah, 'until he comes to whom the judgment, or the right, belongs,' and then would follow a time of restoration when the mitre and the crown are transferred to Him in all their glory: cf. above, p. 147, n. 2.

CHAP. III. reinstated in their lost possessions; the sacred family shall inherit every blessing that was then associated with residence in Canaan, and proximity to God Himself; and so great will be this restoration that the old deliverance from the land of Egypt will cease to be the turning-point of Hebrew history. Its memories will be all absorbed by those of the Messiah, and the consciousness of true redemption. After a second passage through the wilderness, a moral isolation in the desert of the nations (Ezek. xx. 35, 36), there will be a glorious coming back to Zion, and a fresh incorporation in the family of God.

The new Covenant.

But in addition to this general fitness of the shape assumed by the Messianic promise, its republication at the time of the Captivity had one peculiar feature. In the leading prophets of the age (in Jeremiah and Ezekiel), there are plain allusions to a new œconomy,[1] different and distinct from that originally confirmed with Israel on their exodus from Egypt. In this new covenant God no longer writes His law externally, so as to render it a cold series of mandates and requirements, but imparting first of all the remission of sins, imparts therewith fresh impulses in aid of man's obedience, and exalts the character of his worship by making it spontaneous, the outpouring of a warm and renovated heart. Nay, such a change was shewn to be essential in all Israelites who wished for reinstatement in the favour of Jehovah, and the visible tokens of His goodness.

Now what period in the history of the Jews was more propitious for the inculcation of these truths?

[1] Jerem. xxxi. 31—34, Ezek. xxxvi. 22—33, on the latter of which passages, see Fairbairn's *Ezekiel*, pp. 342 sq.

So long as they remained in Palestine, so long as the continuity of their national existence was unbroken, and so long as all the ordinances of the Law were celebrated with their former regularity, the worshipper might seldom realise the possibility of fundamental changes in the system under which he lived. But when the sanctuary itself was levelled with the ground, when sacrifices were no longer offered, when the priest and people had been left to mourn the desolation of their country, some while clinging to its wretched ruins, others in their lonely musings by the streams of Babylon, how much was there in an emergency like this to lift their thoughts above the legal institutions, and constrain them to reflect on better things to come! How local and how limited those institutions would appear to men, whom change of place prevented from complying with them! How full of deep suggestions on the differences between the real and symbolical, the moral and the ceremonial, the perfect and the partial, the future and the past! And if we glance at the predictions of Daniel, and still more at those of Zechariah, we discover how entirely both these prophets were enabled to detach themselves from old associations, how the earthly and material temple is replaced by one not made with hands; and, in a word, how Christian subjects stand completely out, and fill the vision of the seer. CHAP. III.

Thus in spite of all the sternness of the legal institute; in spite of all the trials, troubles, and reverses which befel the race on whom that yoke had been 'imposed until the time of reformation,' no feeling of despondence was ever generated in the bosom of the Israelites. On the contrary, the elder

CHAP. III. system died in hope; or rather its development was closed by giving birth to Christianity. Those innumerable threads of golden light, that run through all the annals of the Hebrew nation, went on increasing both in number and variety, until they met harmoniously in Him, from whose abundance they had issued, by whose Spirit they were scattered in the ancient world, at sundry times, in divers manners. The grand Subject of prediction came at last. He took our human nature, died that we might live, and reigns that we may triumph. He is 'the Root and the Offspring of David, and the bright and morning Star.' The Christian, therefore, can appropriate every word of the exalted song which gushed originally from the heart of one that stood upon the very confines of the new œconomy, and that spoke in sight of him whose ministry was destined to become the living link connecting Law and Prophets with the Gospel: 'Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, for He hath visited and redeemed His people, and hath raised up an horn of salvation for us in the house of His servant David; as He spake by the mouth of His holy prophets, which have been since the world began.'

If it be found hereafter on a strict examination of their sacred books and other ancient documents that nearly all the heathen systems were defective in those very points which form the leading characteristics of Revealed Religion: if the general tendency of pagan thought was in philosophers to pantheism, or the worship of nature as a whole, and in the many to polytheism, or the deification of particular energies of

nature; if sin was there regarded as eternal and as necessary, or in other cases as unreal, notwithstanding those frequent reclamations of the moral consciousness that drove men to devise new rites of worship, and to rear new altars in honour of the 'unknown' divinity: if being thus 'without God in the world,' the heathen were also 'without hope,' the victims in their thoughtful moments of distracting doubts, of abject terror, and of withering desperation, we may thence derive not only a fresh stock of motives for disseminating truths that we possess, but special reasons for abstaining from all heathenish speculations, and for listening with more docile spirit to 'the oracles of GOD.'

APPENDIX I.

The Absolute Religion.

THE following extracts will give the reader a complete view of the 'reforms' demanded by the advocates of what they term 'the absolute religion,' or, 'the religion of humanity.' Mr. Parker has the credit of being, if not their most cultivated, certainly their most intelligible exponent, and we therefore draw our first quotations from his works. In his *Discourse of Matters pertaining to Religion*, (cheap reprint, London, 1850, pp. 180, 181), he tells us:

'Christianity agrees generally with all other forms in this, that it is a religion. Its peculiarity is not in its doctrine of one Infinite God, of the immortality of man, nor of future retribution. It is not in particular rules of morality; for precepts as true and beautiful may be found in heathen writers, who give us the same view of man's nature, duty and destination. The great doctrines of Christianity were known long before Christ; for God did not leave man four thousand years unable to find out his plainest duty.....Every imperfect form of Religion was, more or less, an anticipation of Christianity. So far as a man has real Religion, so far he has Christianity. This is as old as the human race. By its light Zoroaster, Confucius, Socrates, with many millions of holy souls, walked in the early times of the world.'

In an earlier chapter of the same work (pp. 71, 72), Mr. Parker gives us further insight into the 'paradise' of his religion:

'In passing judgment on these different religious states [*viz.* Fetichism, Polytheism, and Monotheism], we are never to forget that there is no monopoly of Religion by any nation or

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any age. Religion itself is one and the same. He that worships truly, by whatever form, worships the Only God. He hears the prayer, whether called Brahma, Jehovah, Pan, or Lord; or called by no name at all. Each people has its prophets and its saints; and many a swarthy Indian, who bowed down to wood and stone—many a grim-faced Calmuck, who worshipped the great God of storms—many a Grecian peasant, who did homage to Phœbus-Apollo when the Sun rose or went down—yes, many a savage, his hands smeared all over with human sacrifice, shall come forth from the east and west, and sit down in the Kingdom of God, with Moses and Zoroaster, with Socrates and Jesus,' &c.

A later work by the same author, entitled, *Theism, Atheism, and the Popular Theology*, Lond. 1853, 'Introd.' p. xxvi, contains a fuller development of his eclectic principles:

'Luther,' he says, 'endeavoured to make new ecclesiastical raiment for mankind, tired of attempting to mend and wear the old and ill-fitting clothes of the church, which became only the worse for botching. In the present time there is the same problem: to gather from the past, from the Bible, from the Catholic and Protestant Churches, from Jew and Gentile, Buddhist, Brahman, and Mahometan, every old truth which they have got embalmed in their precious treasures; and then to reach out and upwards towards God and get every new truth that we can, and join all these together into a whole of theological truth—then to deepen the consciousness of God in our own soul, and make the Absolute Religion the daily life of men.'

Again (pp. 132, 133):

'As "Christian Theology" professes to be derived from a verbal revelation of God,—represented, by the Church, as the Catholics say; by the Scripture, as the Protestants teach,—so the Absolute Religion is derived from the real revelation of God, which is contained in the Universe; this outward universe of matter, this inward universe of man; and I take it we do not require the learned and conscientious labours of a Lardner, a Paley, or a Newton, to convince us that the Universe is genuine and authentic, and is the work of God, without interpolation. We all know that. I call this the Absolute Religion,

because it is drawn from the absolute and ultimate source; because it gives us the Absolute Idea of God,—God as Infinite; and because it guarantees to man his natural rights, and demands the performance of the absolute duties of human nature:' cf. pp. 263, 264, where Mr. Parker throws additional light upon his theory by telling us what he does *not* believe. The residuum, it appears from that passage, is slight indeed (quoted above, p. 23).

Mr. W. J. Fox (*The Religious Ideas*, Lond. 1849) evinces that he too has departed from the older 'Unitarian' views, and set up what he calls a 'religion of humanity.' It is substantially the same as Mr. Parker's. He informs us that the source of all revelation is the 'moral constitution of human nature, the human mind and heart' (p. 66); that religions are not revealers by virtue of what is peculiar to them, but 'in what is common to them with other religions' (p. 49); adding that 'what they have as a peculiarity is something which will ill bear the test of time, as compared with what is essential.' We are afterwards told that his religion of humanity is not subordinated to the influences of climate, but is always the same, is found wherever man is found, 'common in sense and reason, thought and feeling, mind and heart:' that 'it is free from the collisions which ever attend specific theologies,' &c. (pp. 166, 167).

The same general principles pervade the different writings of Mr. R. W. Mackay, being enunciated in the most startling form at the commencement of his *Sketch of the Rise and Progress of Christianity*, Lond. 1854. He tells us, for example, that 'to the truths already uttered in the Athenian prison, Christianity added little or nothing, except a few symbols, which though perhaps well calculated for popular acceptance, are more likely to perplex than to instruct, and offer the best opportunity for priestly mystification' (pp. 19, 20).

Again (p. 21):

'If Christianity so much resembles its antecedents, containing positively nothing which may not be satisfactorily accounted for as a spontaneous development of thought or natural requirement of the mind and heart, why unfairly divorce it from historical analogies; why need we be astonished, or allow our astonishment to represent as marvellous or miraculous

APPEND. I.

a modification rendered inevitable, and which indeed was already pre-established in the mind before Christianity supplied a symbol for expressing it.'

But the very ablest organ by which the principles of the Absolute Religion are advocated in this country is the *Westminster Review*. A favourable specimen is subjoined:

'It is not the *presence* of God in antiquity, but his presence *only* there,—not his inspiration in Palestine, but his withdrawal from every spot besides,—not his supreme and unique expression in Jesus of Nazareth, but his absence from every other human medium,—against which these writers protest. They feel that the usual Christian advocate has adopted a narrow and even irreligious ground; that he has not found a satisfactory place in the Divine scheme of human affairs for the great Pagan world; that he has presumptuously branded all history but one as "profane"; that he has not only read it without sympathy and reverence, but has used it chiefly as a foil to shew off the beauty of evangelic truth and holiness, and so has dwelt only on the inadequacy of its philosophy, the deformity of its morals, the degenerate features of its social life; that he has forgotten the Divine infinitude when he assumes that Christ's plenitude of the Spirit implies the emptiness of Socrates. In their view, he has rashly undertaken to prove, not *one positive* fact,—a revelation of Divine truth in Galilee;—but an *infinite negative;* —no inspiration anywhere else. To this *negation* and to this alone is their remonstrance addressed. They do not deny a *theophany* in the gift of Christianity; but they deny two very different things, viz. 1, That this is the *only* theophany; and 2, That this is theophany *alone;* that is, they look for *some* divine elements elsewhere, and they look for *some* human here. It is not therefore a smaller, but a larger, religious obligation to history, which they are anxious to establish; and they remain in company with the Christian advocate so long as his devout and gentle mood continues; and only quit him when he enters on his sceptical antipathies.' (July, 1852, pp. 203, 204.)

It is instructive to place in contrast with these views of Christianity the main positions of one of its more learned assailants before the birth of Spiritualism and the discovery of the Absolute Religion.

Dupuis, *Origine de tous les Cultes* (new ed. Paris, 1822, p. 181, 182) after citing examples of correspondency between the doctrines and ceremonies of Hebraism and those of the Persian religion, as represented by Hyde, proceeds as follows: 'Il nous suffit des traits que nous avons rassemblés pour faire voir qu'il n'y a rien de nouveau dans la secte des Chrétiens, rien qui soit à elle, et qu'elle a absolument le caractère de toutes les religions orientales et en particulier de celle des Perses, à laquelle nous la rapportons comme à sa source. Nous nous sommes attachés à saisir le caractère ou le génie original des religions des grands peuples de l'Asie et de l'Afrique, des Égyptiens, Phéniciens, Arabes, Phrygiens et Perses, parceque c'est du sein de ces peuples qu'est sortie la religion de Christ, dont le berceau est en Orient et presque au centre des nations ci-dessus nommées.'

'Nous avons vu que la grande divinité de ces pays était le soleil adoré sous différens noms, Osiris en Égypte, Bacchus en Arabie, Adonis en Phénicie, Atys en Phrygie, Mithra en Perse, etc. Nous avons observé que, dans toutes ces religions, le Dieu-soleil était personnifié', &c.

He afterwards undertakes to establish the agreement between the Christian and other 'mythologies' in point of doctrine, not ascribing it to any necessary evolution of human thought, but rather to external derivation:

'Nous ferons voir également que la théologie des Chrétiens est fondée sur les mêmes principes que celles des païens, Égyptiens, Grecs, Chaldéens, Indiens, et qu'elle renferme les mêmes idées que celles qui faisaient partie de la métaphysique universellement reçue quand le christianisme a paru. On reconnaîtra que leurs docteurs parlent le même langage qu'on parlait dans les écoles les plus fameuses de ce siècle-là, en sorte que la religion des Chrétiens, dans sa partie théologique comme dans sa partie cosmologique, n'a rien que n'appartienne aux autres religions, et qui ne s'y retrouve bien des siècles avant l'établissement du christianisme, et cela de l'aveu des auteurs chrétiens, de leurs pères qui nous fournissent presque toutes les autorités sur lesquelles est appuyée notre démonstration. Ainsi, nous pouvons dire à juste titre: Nil sub sole novum.' (p. 192.)

PART II.

RELIGIONS OF INDIA.

RELIGIONS OF INDIA.

CHAPTER I.

Varieties of Religious Thought among the Hindús.

Ἐν τῇ σοφίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ οὐκ ἔγνω ὁ κόσμος διὰ τῆς σοφίας τὸν Θεόν.

Alexander's expedition to India.

THE European who first fought his way across the passes leading to the north of India was Alexander the Great. As early as the summer of 327 B.C. his veterans rested one whole month upon the banks of the Hydaspes. But although an opportunity was thus afforded to the band of scientific Greeks, who joined his expedition, for investigating the religions of the Panjáb and for studying the peculiar genius of the vanquished, the reports which they have left us on these questions are extremely meagre and uncritical. The honour of unlocking that mysterious treasure-house in which the literary wealth of India had been hoarded up from prehistoric ages was reserved for other conquerors.

Nor, if Aristotle had himself attended his heroic pupil, is it likely that our knowledge of the primitive history of Hindústán would be materially augmented. Doubtless an experienced eye, like the Stageirite's, would have noted with especial interest and intelli-

CHAP. I.

gence the aspects of the physical world thus opened to the eager gaze of the Hellenes. The grandeur of the mountain-scenery, culminating in the snow-crowned summits of the Hindú-Kúsh, the richness of the foliage, the fertility of the soil, the mighty forests, the luxuriant rivers, the prodigious size and the grotesque proportions of the animals and plants, would all in turn have furnished topics for reflection and comparison to the mind of such a traveller. He would have probably assisted also in determining the physiological characteristics of the native population, and while remarking, as did others, the dyed beard, the tunic of white linen, the ornaments of gold and ivory, the timid air and almost feminine softness of the men, their passionate love of music, juggling, and gymnastics, have enabled us to speak more definitely in reference to their moral elevation and the nature of their intellectual training. He might further have investigated more at length the contrasts which already marked the different orders of Hindú society,—such, for instance, as the distribution into castes, or the specific points of difference then observable between the courtly and accomplished 'Brâchman,' and the anchoret who mortified the flesh amid the silence and discomforts of the jungle. Nay, it is conceivable that a mind which mastered the whole compass of Hellenic wisdom, might have been able to anticipate some triumphs of the modern ethnologist; he might have traced those common elements of thought and feeling, language and mythology, which, binding Greek and Persian and Hindú together, pointed backwards to the early dawn of civilisation and the cradle of the human family.

CHAP. I.

Unhistorical character of the Hindú mind.

Yet, high as were the expectations not unnaturally raised by Alexander's expedition, one peculiarity in the mental constitution of Hindús prevented both the ancients and ourselves from gaining any accurate knowledge of their aboriginal condition. Rich as their literature is found to be in other products, it has never given birth to formal histories;[1] and what is even more remarkable, the Hindú scholar is deficient in those very qualities which indicate the presence of historic consciousness. He gazes with a cold, if not contemptuous, spirit on the vanities of sense and time, and therefore is disposed to treat all questions of chronology with arrogant indifference. He lives, or rather dreams away his lifetime, in the midst of intellectual problems, labouring hard to measure the immeasurable, to circumscribe the absolute. Compared with such recondite speculations, every incident of life is a mere ripple on the boundless ocean, as fleeting, as phenomenal. What now is, may, for ought he cares, have been a thousand times already, and may frequently come round afresh. The object of his interest is reunion with Divinity, a reabsorption of the finite soul into the primal source of being; and that destiny, according to the various

[1] The only exception is the *Rája Taringíni*, a quasi-historical account of Kashmir; and even this, according to Prof. Wilson (*Asiatic Researches*, xv. 1 sq.), dates no higher than the XIIth century after Christ. We are elsewhere told by the same authority, that the ancient (Brâhmanical) records of India have scarcely enabled us to determine more than one important historical fact, viz. the identity of Chandragupta, one of the kings of Magadha, with the Sandracottus, or Sandracoptus, of the Greek writers. The reign of the latter monarch began about 312 B.C.; whereas if any credit were conceded to the list of dynasties preserved in the Puráńas, this event would have to be placed 1200 years earlier (Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde*, I. 501, Bonn, 1847).

CHAP. III. creeds of Hindústán, implies obliviousness in reference to all earthly knowledge, and entire abstraction from all shadows and illusions of the past.

Now, whether it is exclusively owing to the operation of such feelings that the literary monuments of Hindústán are seldom found to be available for historical purpóses, I do not venture to determine. But this may be affirmed with certainty, that if the annals of India were less blank and barren, modern Europe would have been far less bewildered than it is by theories and counter-theories. Here, as in like cases, where the evidence is dim and fragmentary at the best, imagination is too often suffered to take wing, and even to usurp the throne of history.

Extreme theories on the date of Hindú civilisation.

On one side we have seen a race of orientalists so dazzled by the brilliance of their own discoveries, so intoxicated by the novelty and beauty of the region into which they were the first to penetrate, that India is for them the fountain of all wisdom and the mother of all civilisation. Glowing with this fancy, they are anxious to persuade us that in ages long before the birth of Moses or Sesostris, a religious system which has since remained well-nigh immutable, was fabricated by the genius of some Hindú rishi on the banks of the Yamuná, or in the plain of the Ganges; and that thither we must go if we desire to find the master-key which can alone explain the mysteries of later systems, which alone can solve the problems of our spiritual nature, and give back to western states the uncorrupted form of Christianity.[1]

[1] See, for instance, Holwell's *Original Principles of the ancient Bramins*, &c. (Lond. 1779). This writer glories in the name of

On the other side it has been vigorously contended, for example in the school of Niebuhr,[1] that the civilisation of India is both modern and derived—a thing of yesterday, if we compare it with the mental history of some other nations. The Hindús, when vanquished by the troops of Alexander, and described by Megasthenes, had (so these writers argue) recently emerged from utter barbarism; they were kinsmen of the 'black and savage Indians,' whom we meet with in the pages of Herodotus; while Sanskrit literature, for which the opposite school asserted an unfathomable antiquity, had borrowed all its choicer portions from Greek treatises imported by the Arabs in the middle ages.

True state of the case.

But truth, we now are justified in stating, was equidistant from these two extreme positions. When

'orthodox Christian Deist' (p. 91), and claims direct affinity with the Hindús, who 'from the earliest times have been an ornament to the creation,' on the ground that both he and they are strict monotheists. He deems the Bráhmanical religion the first and purest product of a supernatural revelation. The Hindú scriptures, he supposes, contain, 'to a moral certainty, the original doctrines and terms of restoration, delivered from God himself, by the mouth of his first-created Birmah, to mankind, at his first creation in the form of man' (p. 71). According to Holwell's theory, our blessed Lord was a reappearance of 'Birmah,' but the exact substance of His teaching can be no longer ascertained, owing to grievous corruptions and disfigurements which it was made to undergo at the hands of the apostles and their followers.

[1] 'This opinion concerning the antiquity of Indian civilisation, which has sprung up especially within the last forty years [Niebuhr wrote as far back as 1830], is, indeed, spreading farther and gaining stability. I cannot decide upon it, and cannot say what it is founded upon; but from the assurance of a very competent Englishman, I believe that people will soon come to the conviction, as some highly competent persons have already done, that all the alleged knowledge of the Indians does not by any means belong to the centuries of Moses and Sesostris, to which it has been assigned, but that the greater part of their literature belongs to the middle ages; that for the most part it is borrowed from the Greek, through the medium of Arabic translations,' &c.: *Lectures on Ancient History*, I. 138.

CHAP. I. the first intoxication of the orientalist was over; when the monuments of ancient India were decyphered by a race of scholars more sagacious than a Holwell and less credulous than a Voltaire; when fresh materials had been disinterred in various quarters, and a flood of light had broken unexpectedly into this field of literature from China and Nepál on one side, and Ceylon upon the other; random guesses were exchanged for logical deductions, and philosophizing tamed or baffled by the stubborn strength of facts. It was now obvious, that if Hindús were not historians their religion had a history; that this religion, far from being uniform and stationary in its character, had undergone a series of important changes, not to say of revolutions; that instead of being a spontaneous product of the soil of Hindústán, and therefore unconnected in its growth with other ancient systems, the original Hindúism bore in every feature the most legible indications of a northern parentage, and indications which connect the elements of its mythology, as well as of its speech, with other sections of the 'Indo-European' family.

The phases of religious thought which the immediate object of the present work has made it necessary for me to examine, are reducible under three descriptions:

1. Védaism, or the Vaidic religion.
2. Bráhmanism.
3. Schools of Hindú philosophy, including Buddhism.

§ 1. *Védaism.*

It is now almost universally admitted that to ascertain the basis of Hindú civilisation, or rather, to become acquainted with the earliest utterances of the Hindú religion, we must have recourse directly to the class of sacred books entitled Védas.[1] Here I take my stand, and without entering very far into particulars either as to the theology which they contain, or the precise date of their composition, I shall try to give the reader such a general view of both as for the present purpose will be found sufficiently approximate.

Two remarks are necessary at the outset.

First, I shall exclude from this inquiry all reference to the aboriginal (*i. e.* non-Áryan) tribes of India. The Védas have been ever the possession of one dominant race,[2]—a race which, having crossed the

[1] See Colebrooke's Essay *On the Védas, or Sacred Writings of the Hindús*, first published in the *Asiatic Researches*, VIII. 377—497. They are four in number, and are denominated the Rig-Véda, the Yajur-Véda, the Sáma-Véda, and the Atharva-Véda. The Rig-Véda (Véda of Praise) is the one genuine collection. The Sáma-Véda is only a short extract from the Rig-Véda, containing such hymns as had to be chanted during the sacrifice. The Yajur-Véda is a similar manual intended for another class of priests, who had to mutter certain hymns of the Rig-Véda, together with invocations and other sacrificial formulas. The Sanskrit text of the Rig-Véda is being edited by Prof. Max Müller: it has also been translated in part by Prof. Wilson, and entirely by M. Langlois. The White Yajur-Véda is edited, with a translation, by Prof. Weber of Berlin. The Sáma-Véda is edited, with a translation, first by Mr. Stevenson, and secondly by Prof. Benfey of Göttingen. The fourth Véda, though some of its materials are more recent, is regarded by the Hindús themselves as of co-ordinate authority. It has just been edited by Prof. Roth and Mr. Whitney. Supplementary works in illustration of the texts of the Védas have also been published. Especially valuable is the *Nirukta*, an original glossary and commentary which has been also edited by Prof. Roth: Göttingen, 1852.

[2] On the origin of the Hindús

CHAP. I. Indian Alps at some remote period, was gradually diffused into the Panjáb, and ultimately over a large portion of the whole Peninsula. Who and what was the 'barbarian' (mléchchha) they drove out before them; who and what the abject serf, or Śúdra, they had forcibly converted to their own religion, are extraneous questions, interesting in themselves, but not admissible within the limits of the present survey.[1]

Secondly, I ought to mention that in forming an estimate of the Védas, my materials have been gathered from the oldest portion of those treatises, the Védas proper, and not from Bráhmaṇas and Upanishads, in which the Vaidic doctrines are idealised and systematically developed by later hands.[2] For although many of these productions

and their gradual occupation of India, see Lassen, *Ind. Alterth.* I. 511 sq. They distinguished themselves from other ancient tribes by the name Árya = 'noble,' 'well-born,' a designation originally belonging also to the Medes (Ἄριοι, Herod. VII. 62), and afterwards preserved in the district *Ariana*, and in the modern *Ari* and *Arikh*, applied by the Armenians to the natives of Media. Is árya derived from arya 'a householder,' originally used as the name of the third caste or the Vaiśyas, who formed the great bulk of the immigrants or new settlers. [Cf. Max Müller, *The Science of Language*, pp. 240 sq. Lond. 1862.] See further illustrations in Lassen, I. 6 sq., and Dr. Donaldson's *New Cratylus*, pp. 118, 119, 2nd ed. The former of these authorities asserts (p. 511) that we find no traces of their foreign extraction in the ancient literature of the Hindûs themselves; but he is here not quite accurate, as Weber pointed out in his *Indische Studien*, 2tes Heft, 1850, p. 165.

[1] See *Appendix* I. at the end of this Part.

[2] These treatises are (1) the Bráhmaṇas, commentaries partly liturgical and partly theological in their character, containing, it would seem, a much fuller development of the Bráhmanical system, and (2) the Upanishads, a kind of supplement to other sacred books. Speaking generally, each Véda may be said to consist of two parts, the Mantras, or prayers, and the Bráhmaṇas, or treatises: Colebrooke, as above, pp. 387, 388 (cf. also *Des Védas*, par M. J. B. Saint-Hilaire, pp. 10, 11, Paris, 1854). All the Bráhmaṇas are believed in point of time to lie between the Védas on the one side, and the heroic poems on the other; and Professor Wilson, arguing from internal evidence, seems to have made it not improbable that one of the number, the

are said to breathe the spirit of the Védas, and although some of them may fairly claim, on philological and other grounds, a very high antiquity, it is impossible with our present knowledge to determine their exact position in reference to the sacred texts which they interpret.

The chief gods of the Védas.

Of the documents which Hindús have always held in special veneration, the Rig-Véda is the first and foremost. It contains as many as 1017 'mantras,' *i. e.* canticles and prayers. These, with slight exceptions, are *religious* in their character. About one half of them are found to be addressed either to Indra, the god of light,[1] or Agni, the god of fire;[2] who therefore occupy the foremost place in the my-

Aitaréya Bráhmaña (which, however, is not, he maintains, an integral part of the Rig-Véda) was written as far back as the sixth century before the Christian era: see *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, XIII. 105. The Véda alone is called *śruti*, or revelation; everything else, however sacred, can only claim the title of *smriti*, or tradition. The revelation was supposed to be handed down by inspired rishis, till at last it reached the minds of common believers, and was accepted by them as absolute truth. Few Bráhmans at the present day can read and understand the Véda. They know little more of it than a few hymns and prayers. Instead of the Véda, they read the Laws of Manu, the six systems of philosophy, the Puránas and the Tantras.

[1] Indra, the Hindú Jupiter, is not unfrequently styled 'lord of heaven,' (divaspati = diespiter). The name 'Indra' is itself of doubtful origin, meaning either (1) 'blue' (an epithet of the firmament), or (2) 'the illuminator,' or (3) 'the giver of rain:' Wuttke, *Gesch. des Heidenthums*, II. 242, Brealau, 1853. His attributes, though for the most part terrible in their manifestation, are essentially *creative* or *productive*, and sometimes absolutely *beneficent*; as when he is said to chase away evil spirits from the clouds, or send refreshing showers upon the earth, in spite of the malevolence of Vritra or Ahi, the demon who withholds them.

[2] The Agni (= Ignis) of the Védas is not so much the god presiding over the element of fire, as the element of fire itself, considered partly as the vivifying principle of vegetation, and partly as a *destructive agent*. 'Agni ist die dem Indra gegenüberstehende Naturmacht: Indra erzeugt das Leben, Agni verzehrt es.' Wuttke, *Ibid.* p. 241: cf. however, Prof. Wilson, *Rig-Véda*, Vol. I. 'Introd.' p. xxvii.

CHAP. I. thology of the Védas. The next divinity to which a certain prominence appears to be awarded is Varuńa, the god of water; but none of these can be distinguished absolutely from a multitude of other gods, which either act as representatives of the chief divinities, and so are Indra, Agni, and Varuńa with different names, or else appear as deifications of some single aspect in the powers and processes of nature. Trinity or triad there is none.[1] Much less can we observe among the ancient hymns of India a complete and systematic theogony. The Vaidic gods are for the most part isolated beings, shadowy and impersonal energies, as multiform in character and manifestation as the elements with which they are connected, not to say identified. The earliest grouping of them into a system must be dated from the subsequent period,[2] when the image of one, holy, personal Creator being broken more and more, and fading more and more completely from the Hindú mind, it was attempted to regain the thought of unity, which man was sadly conscious he had lost, by calling to his aid the light of metaphysics and the generalisations of natural philosophy.

The doctrine of one great First-Cause was not

[1] Those writers who labour to establish that the Hindús have worshipped a triad of divinities from the very earliest period, give the second or third place in it to Varuńa (Οὐρανός): Wuttke, *Ibid.* p. 243. He is, in their view, the *preserving* and *directing* agent of the Vaidic system, the sphere of his operation lying between those of Indra and Agni. It deserves to be further noted, that as far back as the Védas, sexual distinctions were attributed to the gods. Each of the three leading divinities is attended by a wife, who reflects his own special energy:—Indráńí, Varuńáńí, Agnáyí.

[2] 'In der Védischen Götterlehre findet sich kein System, obwohl *Indra* schon der mächtigste der Götter ist:' Lassen, I. 768. He then sketches the oldest systematic representations as we find them in the *Nirukta*.

indeed, as we shall see hereafter, absolutely banished from the heart of bards and rishis; yet their extant hymns should satisfy the most incredulous that the idea of God as one, supreme, and spiritual, never formed a prominent article in the early creeds of India. It retired far-off into the background. It seldom operated as a principle of life. It was the feeble and expiring echo of an older and a purer revelation; and even where it shewed its power at all, where Indra for the moment was absorbed completely by some brighter and more spiritual being, the God of whom such visions preached was not a thinking, willing, loving Spirit, personal and self-conscious, ruling over nature as His work and as the Father of the spirits of all flesh, but rather a great That,[1] a neuter abstract, separable from the world of matter in idea, but not in essence; spiritualised indeed, but spiritualised, ennobled, deified by the poetic faculty of the worshipper. He was a nature-god, and not the God of nature.

How far the idea of unity was retained.

1. Accordingly if we proceed to analyse the psychological peculiarities, which tended to project that early creed of the Hindú, the point which strikes us most is the profound devotion he had always paid to natural phenomena. This tendency he manifested in common with all nations of remote antiquity; for though we cannot trace the Áryan backwards to his

Growth of Hindú polytheism:

[1] The Sanskrit word (Tad) is literally *That*. And the same idea was in all probability expressed by the mystic monosyllable Om (aum), by which the hymns of the Védas were uniformly prefaced. Some writers, referring the three letters to a triad of the elements, explain *a* of Agni (fire), *u* of Varuṇa (water), and *m* of Marut (wind): but the true etymology of the word appears to be suggested by the old Persian 'avam' (= aum), meaning 'That': see Lassen, I. 775, n. 3.

CHAP. I. haunts in central Asia, nor speak positively of the effect produced upon him by the savage scenery of those regions he had traversed in the course of his migrations, it is certain that on crossing the Hindú Alps he bowed at once in adoration of the new and beauteous world to which he was transplanted. The earthly bias of the spirit had received fresh impulses; the witchery exercised upon the senses was entire and irresistible. How potent were such impulses, how absolute such fascination in the other tribes of western Asia, may be gathered from the noble protest of the patriarch: 'If I beheld the sun when it shined, or the moon walking in brightness, and my heart hath been secretly enticed, or my mouth hath kissed my hand; this also were an iniquity to be punished by the judge; for I should have denied the God that is above' (Job xxxi. 26—28). And like the patriarch in sensibility, though not in fear and reverence, were the authors of the sacred books of Hindústán. The 'golden-handed' sun, dispensing as the lord of heaven his gifts of radiance and fertility; the starry firmament, inspiring awe and deepening wonder; the freshness of the morning and the calm of evening twilight, whispering in man's heart of supernatural genii; season following season, and one element commingling with another; the scorching wind, the lightnings flashing forth in majesty and armed with speedy vengeance, rain and dew and drought,—these all excited in their turn the sentiments of pain or pleasure, joy or sadness, confidence or apprehension. All were felt to indicate the presence of invisible powers, at peace or else at enmity with man, and therefore

recognised as objects worthy of his prayers.[1] Such veneration of the elements may not indeed have consciously involved the worshipper at first in a denial of God's sovereignty. He may have read in them the tokens, symbols, agents of a spiritual Intelligence. The harmony of natural laws, the wondrous and majestic revolution of the stars and planets, most of all the glorious element of light from which the Áryan borrowed the generic name[2] of his divinities, may have, at least to elevated minds, suggested other and far higher spheres, of which the present world is only a distorted copy and a feeble adumbration. Yet ere long a change came over men's ideas; the golden thread was broken which connected 'the invisible things of God,' His power, His righteousness, His personality, His fatherhood, with objects that solicit and bewitch the senses. Popular imagination ulti-

its complete development.

[1] 'It is the peculiar character of the Indian mythology to combine a gigantic wildness of phantasy, and a boundless enthusiasm for nature, with a deep mystical import, and a profound philosophic sense.' F. von Schlegel, *Phil. of Hist.* p. 154, Lond. 1847.

[2] Déva, *nom.* dévas (= *deus*, *θεός*, Goth. *tius*, A. S. *tiw*) is derived from the Sanak. *deva*, 'luminous,' 'resplendent' (cf. *sub dio*);—an etymology which of itself suggests the leading feature of Hindú polytheism. Light, accordingly, became the aptest symbol of the Divine Being. Thus the *Gáyatrí*, or holiest verse of the Védas, is addressed to the sun-god, and contains the following passage among others: 'Let us meditate on the adorable light of the divine sun (Savitri): may it guide our intellects. Desirous of food, we solicit the gift of the splendid sun (Savitri), who should be studiously worshipped. Venerable men, guided by the understanding, salute the divine sun (Savitri) with oblations and praise.' *Asiat. Researches*, VIII. 400: cf. Wuttke, II. 260—262, where other evidence is adduced to shew that the sun was at first regarded as an image in the visible world of what the supreme Essence is in the world invisible. 'Perhaps,' says Ritter (*Hist. of Ancient Philosophy*, I. 92, Oxf. 1838), 'there is nothing more instructive in Indian archæology than (so to express ourselves) the *transparency* of their mythology, which permits us to perceive how, with a general sense of the divine, the coexistence of a special recognition thereof in the separate phenomena of nature was possible, and how out of the conception of the one God, a belief in a plurality of gods could arise.'

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mately believed its own allegories, and not only so, but construed them according to the letter. The mythe became an object not of fancy but of faith; and the relations of natural and supernatural being thus inverted and obscured, the law was substituted for the Legislator, and the Giver hidden from men's eyes by the effulgence and the multiplicity of His gifts.

How far pantheistic.

In other words, the Védas, taken as a whole, reveal to us an aspect of religious feeling, always bordering upon pantheism, often passing quite across the border. Wheresoever in the world around him the Hindú observed extraordinary manifestations of the brilliant or the beautiful, the barren or prolific, the sombre or the terrible; wherever the action of the elements was such as to produce extraordinary effects upon himself, his children, or his property, he betrayed the consciousness of his dependence by some special act of homage. He acknowledged in such powers the presence of divinity; he called the influence which affected him or his a *déva* ('deus'); it was pregnant for the time with a divine or diabolic efficacy, and therefore it became a fitting object of desire or dread, of adoration or of deprecation, according to the aspects it assumed in reference to the worshipper. Hence, also, every province of creation was soon peopled by spiritual energies, all varying in their character with human hopes and fears, with human interests and passions. Nay, so far was the Hindú impelled in this direction that he deified the sacrifice itself,[1] from which he hoped to profit; he

[1] For example, the hymns comprising one whole section of the Rig-Véda are addressed to Soma, the milky juice of the moon-plant

worshipped his own offering, he worshipped the solemn form of words by which his offering was accompanied. CHAP. I.

The Véda-gods all wanting in individuality.

But although these objects had been each invested by imagination with a kind of personality, the *dévas* of the Hindú populace, throughout the Vaidic period, were little more than formless powers and colourless abstractions. Human properties, it is true, were frequently ascribed to them: it was believed that even gods are ultimately mortal, and can only purchase an exemption from the common lot by drinking of the potent *amrita*,[1] the draught of immortality; yet how vague was the impression made by this or that particular god we gather from the fact that the same element is connected at different times with different divinities; the names are interchanged, the powers confounded with each other; and thus, owing to the want of individuality, the veneration of the ancient gods grew obsolete; their memory vanished with the phases of society from which they had emerged, or with the momentary gushings of religious sentiment in some peculiar locality. Even Indra, occupying as he did the foremost place among the group of Vaidic gods, and wielding powers, as it would seem, identical with those of the Supreme

(asclepias acida), which the worshipper had learnt to deify. Thus, in Langlois's translation (Tome I. p. 174) the following is the last petition of such a prayer: 'Dieu fort, ô Soma, que ta divine prudence nous accorde la part de richesses (que nous désirons)! Combats pour nous; personne ne peut lutter contre toi. Tu es le maître de la force, et règnes sur les deux partis: donne-nous la supériorité dans la bataille.' This deification of the Soma is still more prominent in the Sáma-Véda.

[1] As early as the Rig-Véda, the Soma sacrifice is called *amrita* (='immortal'); and in a secondary sense the liquor which communicates immortality (*Ibid.* p. 173).

CHAP. I. Being, is, nevertheless, presented in the Rig-Véda as the offspring of Aditi,[1] the mother of the universe; the dignities with which he is invested are equally ascribed to Agni, Rudra, and the rest; while, in the next period of Hindú mythology, the same Indra is depressed into a deity of the second order; his heaven (or 'swarga') is only fourth in rank among the bright localities, entitled superhuman, and even his throne itself is rendered insecure. He has to tremble at the prospect of still further humiliation, if, peradventure, some daring mortal shall complete the horse-sacrifice, or qualify himself for ruling in the place of Indra by extraordinary acts of penance. Such are the indefinite forms and such the varying aspects of Hindú polytheism at the early stage of its development.

The moral tone of the Védas.

2. But if the Védas thus abound with indications that the worshipper in ancient times was gifted only with a superficial consciousness of one Almighty God, and if the texture of his hymns and prayers were such as to obscure that consciousness still further by interposing an innumerable crowd of fresh divinities, we are prepared to find a corresponding deterioration in his moral and religious sentiments. And such is really the case. The physical attributes of God and of superior genii are confessed and venerated; but the traces of belief in His moral government are only few and indistinct.[2] The worshipper, for instance, moved by some good fortune has prepared his eucharistic offering, the oiled butter or the

[1] Langlois, II. 238; cf. III. 42, 492.

[2] See Saint-Hilaire, *Des Védas*, pp. 172, 173, who corroborates this inference.

juices of a sacred plant; he bends in supplication; he invites his favourite god to come and taste of his abundance. Winds and fire and sunlight, these are all profusely welcomed to the banquet; but the God of nature, He who framed the world and reigns supreme above the elements, appears to have been utterly overlooked; He has no part in the oblation, except, perhaps, allusion to Him be intended in that solemn muttering (Óm), by which the ceremony is preceded. Or, again, the worshipper is overwhelmed by sorrow and perplexity; his hopes are blasted or his fortune wrecked, and with the spirit of a famished menial he determines to apply for aid and compensation to some fresh divinity. His voice, which quivers with emotion, has at length found utterance in a passionate prayer; yet what that prayer in almost every case solicits is exemption from the physical ills of life, a fuller and more sparkling cup of temporal prosperity. Large and healthy families, cows and horses, fertile pastures, bounteous harvests, victory over public and domestic foes, are found to be the leading, not to say the solitary topics in the supplications of the Védas. We shall look in vain for penitential psalms, or hymns commemorating the descent of spiritual benefits.

Imperfect consciousness of sin.

This want of moral sensibility, this slowness to admit the presence and malignity of moral evil, and the holiness of Him with whom we have to do, is not by any means peculiar to the creed of Hindústán. If prayers suggested in the Védas differed in some points from those of the adjacent countries, all such differences were only matters of degree. If Persia, for example, soon discovered that the greatest strug-

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gles which affect humanity are not the struggles of the sun and clouds, the waters and the winds, but struggles raging in the breast of living men between the elements of light and darkness, and the powers of good and evil, it is notwithstanding an indisputable fact that even in the brighter spots of ancient heathendom the supplications offered to the gods are nearly always prompted by the wish for temporal prosperity.[1] Exceptions there would doubtless be, since the conviction of man's moral bondage is inseparable from himself, and cannot be obliterated in the lowest depths of sensuality. Accordingly we may discover here and there examples bearing witness to the glimmerings of such consciousness as far back as the earliest prayers of the Védas. 'O Varuña, by our invocations, by our sacrifices, by our holocausts, we desire to turn away thine anger. Come, thou giver of life; relieve us, prudent king, from our offences."[2]

[1] 'They are supplicated to confer temporal blessings upon the worshipper, riches, life, posterity; the short-sighted vanities of human desire, which constituted the sum of heathen prayer in all heathen countries.' Prof. Wilson, *Lectures*, pp. 9, 10, Oxf. 1840. Stuhr, *Die Religions-Systeme der heidnischen Völker des Orients*, Berlin, 1836, 'Einleitung,' p. xii, has pointed out the strong contrast in this particular between the worship of the heathen and the Christian; and indeed of all the extant heathen prayers a very small fraction only are offered in the hope of calling down moral or spiritual benefits. An example of the latter may be seen in Creuzer's *Symbolik*, IV. 629, Leipzig, 1842.

[2] *Rig-Véda*, ed. Langlois, I. 41. In a subsequent hymn (*Ibid.* I. 79) there are also allusions to moral turpitude; but the last verse is differently rendered by Saint-Hilaire (*Des Védas*, p. 56). I am very glad to find myself again supported in the view here taken of the Védas by the high authority of Prof. Wilson, who, after mentioning some other peculiarities, remarks: 'There is little demand for moral benefactions, although, in some few instances, hatred of untruth and abhorrence of sin are expressed; a hope is uttered that the latter may be repented of or expiated; and the gods are in one hymn solicited to extricate the worshipper from sin of every kind.' 'Introd.' to his translation of the *Rig-Véda*, I. p. xxvi.

'Soma [the personified libation] has declared to me that in the waters are all medicines [*or*, medicinal plants]. Agni works the happiness of all: the waters cure all evils. Salutary waters, guard my body from disease [*or*, perfect all medicines for the good of my body], that I may long behold the sun. Purifying waters, cleanse away from me whatever is impure or criminal, every evil I have done by violence, by imprecations, by injustice."[1] It should also be remembered that the same conviction of impurity might not unfrequently suggest the offering of material sacrifice, to which allusion has been made above. Of human[2] victims no example is preserved in any of the Védas; nor in that early age did man so frequently evince his consciousness of imperfection by inordinate displays of animal sacrifices.[3] What the Hindú mainly offered was clarified butter poured upon the fire, or else the fermenting juice of the soma-plant,[4] which he presented in ladles to the deity whom he invoked. In this, which may at first have been commended to him by its potent and exhilarating properties, he afterwards beheld an emblem of the vital sap whereby the universe itself is made productive; but in bringing such oblation he was actuated

[1] *Rig-Véda*, ed. Langlois, I. 38, and, as repeated, IV. 143.

[2] They can, however, be plainly traced as far back as the Aitaréya Bráhmana: see Prof. Wilson's paper in the *Jour. of the Asiat. Soc.* XIII. 105.

[3] There is allusion, however, in the Rig-Véda, as well as in the Yajur-Véda, to the sacrifice of a horse ('aśwamédha'), which afterwards obtained a new importance in the Hindú worship. Still as offered in the Rig-Véda, its object is simply to acquire additional wealth and prosperity, not as in the Puráńas and in Southey's *Curse of Kehama*, to assist in dethroning Indra and exalting the sacrificer to his place: see Wilson's *Rig-Véda*, Vol. II. 'Introd.' pp. xii. sq.

[4] Wuttke, II. 344 sq.

CHAP. I. chiefly by the hope of gratifying the animal wants of his divinity, not by the idea of deepening his own sense of guilt, or compensating for his own demerit. Still, as we have seen, he was at times oppressed by a misgiving that the gods were hostile to him; that the Rákshasas (or evil spirits) interfered to vitiate his offerings, and that Yama, the sovereign of the dead, was planning his destruction. He grew anxious therefore to disarm their vengeance, and to replace himself if possible upon the moral elevation which he felt that he had forfeited. Iniquity had left its deadly poison in the spirit of the sinner; yet through lack of some unerring guidance he could only dream about the cause of his disorder, and could only guess at the appropriate remedy.

Early date of the Védas.

3. If we now pass forward from this sketch of early Hindú worship to the questions touching the antiquity of the Védas, it must be conceded that one class of arguments adduced by Indian scholars will hardly stand the test of rigorous criticism. Sir William Jones[1] endeavoured, for example, to fix the precise date of the Yajur-Véda by calculating backwards through the lives of two-and-forty sages by whom the document is said to have been handed down to us. But the point of departure in this calculation is the age of Parásara, which in its turn depends upon the accuracy of astronomical observations. By the aid of such a process, Jones had placed the composition of the Yajur-Véda as far back as 1580 B.C. Colebrooke, in like manner, having satisfied himself that a Vaidic calendar which he examined ought to be referred to the 14th century

[1] See the *Preface* to his translation of the *Laws of Manu*.

B.C., obtained a very similar conclusion. But it seems that this great scholar subsequently staggered under the enormous difficulties of the problem, and was finally disposed to treat his chronological statements as precarious and conjectural.[1] The same opinion must be formed of other calculations resting on the astronomical works of India; nor can vague disclosures of the Kashmir chronicle be entitled to a higher place.[2] Converging as they do, however, these various testimonies must be held to have created a presumption in favour of the early dating of the Védas, and such presumption is again supported if we estimate the worth of the internal evidence.

Argument from the character of the language.

(1) The language of the Védas, when compared with later writings of the Indo-Áryan race, is characterised by a profusion of archaisms. The grammatical forms are less developed, the diction far more rustic, and the style more rugged, primitive and elliptical. To use the illustration of Sir William Jones, the Sanskrit of the Védas differed from the Sanskrit of the classic age, as did the Latin of the age of Numa from the Latin of the age of Cicero. Or in other words, if we might reason from one member of the family of nations to a second, the peculiarities of the Véda-dialect imply an interval as wide as that which

[1] Cf. Saint-Hilaire, *Des Védas*, p. 140. Prof. Wilson, in like manner, *Rig-Véda*, 'Introd.' Vol. I. p. xlviii., observes that in proposing dates on this subject, nothing more than conjecture is intended.

[2] Prichard, who appears to be satisfied with Davis's treatise on the astronomy of the Hindús (*Researches into the Physical History of Mankind*, IV. 102), attaches great importance to the agreement of the results obtained by these different modes of computation. He is, accordingly, prepared to place the Great War, which separates the historic from the prehistoric period of Indian antiquities, in the 14th century before the Christian era. *Ibid.* p. 104.

CHAP. I. parts the English of the venerable Cædmon from the English of the Caroline divines. Those scholars who devote particular attention to the study of the Védas, have moreover noticed great diversities in the language of the several volumes[1], implying that as the hymns which they contain were gradually indited, the language of the Áryan tribes had passed through several stages of development; while on comparing the 'Mantras,' or Védas proper, with the Bráhmaṇas, which were intended for their illustration, the existence of fresh intervals between the composition of the text and commentaries is thoroughly ascertained.

Argument from the Vaidic picture of society.

(2) But other proofs, more generally appreciable, and to certain minds more cogent and conclusive, are derived from the peculiar pictures there presented of Hindú society. As the Vaidic hymns were, notwithstanding the extravagant claims advanced in their behalf, composed at various times by different poets, and only strung together in the time of the half-mythical Vyása ('the Arranger'), they reflect the life and feelings of the Áryan under very different circumstances. At first we see a man of patriarchal simplicity, a hunter or a cowherd. His ideas are circumscribed within the narrow limits of his clan, the chief of which, surrounded by a multitude of cattle, is the father and perhaps the priest[2] of all his followers. In some points these primitive chieftains are not much unlike the petty kings of the Homeric age;[3] but apter parallels are found in Hebrew patriarchs, or in modern Arabs of the desert. According to this version of his

[1] Saint-Hilaire, p. 152, who appeals to the authority of Roth, Benfey and Weber.

[2] In the later hymns of the Rig-Véda the power of the priestly order (Purohiti) is established.

[3] Cf. Langlois, *Rig-Véda*, 'Introduction,' p. x.

life, the Áryan colonist was originally nomadic in his habits: he was led from plain to plain, or from one lofty plateau to another in quest of milder skies and richer pasturage. At length, indeed, a mighty change comes over his ideas: the shepherd is transformed into a warrior, and we see him on the other side of the great alpine frontier, permanently settled in the north of Hindústán. Yet even there no manifest traces are discerned of a political or religious organisation: we look in vain for cities, temples, images and the like. One section of the colonists appear to be engaged in agriculture: groups of them have been collected and arranged in villages: they are planting, sowing, building; on the one side anxious to propitiate the ungenial powers of nature, on the other actively engaged in warring with the dark-complexioned 'Dasyus,' or, in different words, expelling the old tenants of the soil.[1]

But, rude and simple though he be, the Áryan of the Véda is no savage. He begins to manifest his aptitude for intellectual culture:[2] he is earnest,

[1] We catch occasional glimpses of this contest in the hymns of the Védas: *e.g. Rig-Véda Sanhitá*, I. 137, 138, ed. Wilson,—a passage which also proves that the invaders thought themselves the champions of true religion: 'Discriminate,' is the prayer to Indra, 'between the Áryas and they [? them] that are Dasyus [enemies]: restraining those who perform no religious rites, compel them to submit to the performer of sacrifices:' and III. 34, 9: 'Destroying the Dasyus, Indra protected the Áryan colour' (varna = caste).

[2] Prof. Wilson has drawn attention to some of the points here specified: but he seems to overstate his case when he adds (*Rig-Véda*, Vol. II. p. xvii.): 'These particulars, although they are only briefly and incidentally thrown out, chiefly by way of comparison, or illustration, render it indisputable, that the Hindús of the Vaidik era even had attained to an advanced stage of civilisation, little if at all differing from that in which they were found by the Greeks at Alexander's invasion.'

CHAP. I. thoughtful, enterprising: he learns to speak of ships and commerce: he is not entirely ignorant of astronomical science. A worker in the precious metals, and a manufacturer of musical instruments, he has already given proofs of his perception both of the conveniences and the amenities of social life. He has moreover learned in some degree the power, the richness and the flexibility of his native language, and from time to time there rises up a bard, or rishi, whose poetic genius gives expression to the varied feelings that are working in the breast of the community. This rishi is the oracle of his village: in the songs and prayers which he composes lie the elements of common worship, and the germs of that far mightier system, which on its development is destined to unite all Indo-Áryan tribes together, and diffuse its humanizing influence to the southernmost point of Hindústán. Such grand ideas, however, were not present to the fancy of the ancient bards: and he who is desirous of realising in some measure the important changes afterwards wrought in Hindú life, has only to transfer his thoughts from the original aspects of society, as pictured in the Védas, to that stage when the ambassador of Seleucus found a welcome at the court of Chandragupta, or when Kálidása, in the century before the Christian era, charmed his audience by the elegant drama of the *Fatal Ring*.

Argument from the theology of the Védas.

(3) There is one more criterion which enables us to judge of the remote antiquity of the Védas. It may be entitled theological. We find it, partly, in the fact that some divinities who stand conspicuous in these books have either undergone most serious

transformations, or else have vanished altogether from the literature of the next period:[1] partly, in the absence from the Védas of some doctrines which had afterwards become the cardinal points of the Hindú system. Such, for instance, are the doctrines of caste,[2] of

[1] The following extract from Prof. Wilson's *Introd.*, as above, pp. xxvi, xxvii, is valuable on more accounts than one, and especially as shewing how very inexact some modern writers are in their philosophisings on these subjects: 'The divinities worshipped [in the *Rig-Véda*] are not unknown to later systems, but they there perform very subordinate parts, whilst those deities, who are the great gods—the *Dii majores*—of the subsequent period, are either wholly unnamed in the *Véda*, or are noticed in an inferior and different capacity. The names of Śiva, of Mahádéva, of Durgá, of Káli, of Ráma, of Krishńa, never occur, as far as we are yet aware: we have a Rudra, who, in after-times, is identified with Śiva, but who, even in the *Puráńas*, is of very doubtful origin and identification; whilst in the Véda he is described as the father of the winds, and is evidently a form of either Agni or Indra. The epithet Kapardin, which is applied to him, appears, indeed, to have some relation to a characteristic attribute of Śiva, —the wearing of his hair in a peculiar braid; but the term has probably in the *Véda* a different signification . . . at any rate, no other epithet applicable to Śiva occurs, and there is not the slightest allusion to the form in which, for the last ten centuries at least, he seems to have been almost exclusively worshipped in India,—that of the *Linga* or *Phallus*. Neither is there the slightest hint of another important feature of later Hindúism, the Trimúrtti, or Tri-une combination of Brahmá, or Vishńu and Śiva, as typified by the mystical syllable *Om*, although, according to high authority on the religions of antiquity [*viz.* Creuzer's], the Trimúrtti was the first element in the faith of the Hindús, and the second was the Lingam.'

[2] 'The existence of but one caste in the age of purity, however incompatible with the legend which ascribes the origin of the four tribes to Brahmá, is everywhere admitted.' Wilson, *Vishńu Puráńa*, p. 406, n. 8. Lond. 1840. This admission is strengthened by the fact that other races kindred to the Áryans were unacquainted with the distinction of caste. It should, however, be remarked that one single hymn in the *Rig-Véda* favours a contrary hypothesis: 'Le Brahman a été sa bouche; le prince (Râjanya) ses bras; le Vêsya, ses cuisses: le Sûdra est né de ses pieds' (Langlois, IV. 341). But this hymn is allowed on all hands to be of later date (*Ibid.* pp. 498, 499; Lassen, I. 794). There is also in the *Rig-Véda* (see Langlois, IV. 489, n. 62) an instance of the early use of *dwijas* (*i.e.* 'twice-born'), which is afterwards applied to members of the three superior castes, who as such underwent a special form of initiation; but in that remote period the expression seems to have been used merely for the priests ('les premiersnés de Rita').

CHAP. I. transmigration and of incarnation;[1] none of which have hitherto been discovered in the oldest records of Hindúism.

What length of interval was necessary for producing all these changes, social, mental, and linguistic, it is now impossible to state with anything like confidence or precision. The development of cognate languages, the culture and expansion of the human intellect, as well as the formation of the framework of society, may all have varied much in different climates and in different periods of man's history. But, what is most essential to our purpose, no eminent critic of the present day will venture to maintain that Hindú civilisation, as represented by its literature, is capable of being carried backwards to a period more remote than that of Joshua and the Exodus,—the age when Hebrew literature began to flourish, and, in contrast to the Áryan, manifest a thoroughly historic character,—the age, moreover, when the literature, if such it can be called, of other ancient nations can present to the inquirer little more than monstrous legends, or fantastic mythes, or barren lists of dynasties.

§ 2. *Bráhmanism.*

Original seat of Bráhmanism.

It seems that when the Áryans had secured their conquests in the country of the Five Rivers, and, as some conjecture, offshoots following the course of the

[1] 'Dieses Dogma ist den Vêda fremd, und die wenigen Anspielungen, die in ihnen auf Mythen vorkommen, die später in die Avatâra des Vishnu aufgenommen worden sind, zeigen, dass in der ältesten Zeit die Lehre von der periodischen Menschwerdung des erhaltenden Gottes zur Vertilgung des Uebels noch nicht gebildet worden war:' Lassen, I. 488.

Indus had been planted as far south as Cutch and Guzerat, the chief attention of the invaders was directed to the spread of civilisation in the other parts of the Peninsula. The centre of their earliest operations was a narrow strip of territory, watered on one side by the Saraswati, from whence new colonies were propagated year by year, until the plain of the Ganges was entirely rescued from the grasp of the 'barbarian.'

Character of the new theology.

On proceeding to inspect the institutions now completed, we approach another epoch in the history of Hindústán. The twilight of intelligence is passed. The age when elements and processes of nature had by man's poetic faculty been converted, first, into the symbols of religious feeling, and then into the objects of religious worship, is succeeded[1] by an age entitled 'the heroic age of India,' when the gods are more completely *humanised*, assume a definite shape in the imagination of the worshipper, and exhibit all the ordinary signs of individuality.

Philosophers are not unfrequently disposed to welcome this new species of polytheism, on the ground that it contains a germ of something more exalted and more ethical. They think that the idea of God as one, as personal, as righteous, an idea which in the

[1] The divinities of the Vaidic period, who most resemble the heroes of the next age, are the two demigods Aswins, *Aświnau* (dual), children of the sun, endowed with youth and beauty, travelling in a three-wheeled and triangular car, physicians of the gods and benefactors of the human race. Their name is derived from *aśwa* (equus), since they are said to have been begotten by the sun during his metamorphosis as a horse; but as their mother is once called the sea (Sindhu), many writers identify them simply with the sun and moon, which appear to rise out of the ocean: cf. Prof. Wilson, *Introd.* to *Rig-Véda*, Vol. I. p. xxxvi. and Vol. II. p. 179.

CHAP. I. former period was extruded from the popular belief, was far more likely to be rescued and restored to its supremacy when the inquirer started from the notion of man-like gods, than when he bowed in adoration to a host of shadowy genii or impersonal abstractions. On the other hand, it should be recollected that the Hindú populace would also be more prone to acquiesce in a polytheism of its own creation, and lose sight of spiritual facts which had their symbols in the primitive mythology. In the worship of the elements, the veil between the seen and unseen had remained comparatively slender; in the worship of anthropomorphic gods in whom all human excellencies found their utmost limit, the new object was more satisfying because it was more human, but on that account was far less calculated to suggest a higher class of truths.

Occasional marks of progress.

We must allow, indeed, that intellectually the Áryans gained a more exalted point of civilisation in the second period of their history. The field of knowledge had been everywhere enlarged: the power of abstract thinking and the tendency to metaphysical speculation, scarcely traceable in the Védas, were now rapidly developed in all quarters: the refinement of men's taste had shewn itself, if not in graceful and voluptuous works of art, at least in the unrivalled majesty and music of their language as employed in the heroic poems. It is also true that in proportion as they grew familiar with antagonisms in nature, they betrayed a somewhat deeper consciousness of discord in themselves; and that with keener sense of moral turpitude, there came the habit of self-loathing and the aspiration after some deliverance from the fetters of the flesh. Such yearnings might be often

silenced by the thought that purity, attractive though it be, is for the present unattainable, that the character of gods themselves is full of grievous stains and blemishes, that the obligation to a holy life is seldom if ever urged in the most sacred institutions of their forefathers; yet notwithstanding every drawback and abatement, the existence of a higher tone of moral sensibility appears unquestionable; and therefore we may gladly acquiesce in Ritter's verdict, that 'the retrogression in the second period of Indian religion was not unattended with an element of progress.'[1]

Organisation of the Brâhmanical system.

Special features of this new system will be more fully noticed when we come to trace the parallelisms which they exhibit to the facts and verities of Christianity. At present suffice it to enumerate a few of the more prominent characteristics. The Divine has been distinctly apprehended under the form of the human; and thus the pantheon is inhabited by beings of godlike grace or power or dignity, conspicuous alike in counsel and in action, and especially enlisted in diffusing the Áryan faith among the old possessors of the soil. The system also of which these are the most popular divinities is made to undergo extensive modifications. It has now a far more definite creed, a cumbrous and elaborate ritual, a code of laws, a dominant order of religious teachers. The Védas, we have noticed, bear no marks of a distinction such as that which forms the basis of the Hindú castes; indeed the royal and the sacerdotal offices are there at times united in one eminent person; but in all the commentaries on the Védas, and still more throughout

[1] *Hist. of Ancient Philosophy*, I. 94.

CHAP. I. the Laws of Manu,[1] the social system of the Indo-Áryans is completely organised. The whole population, as we there see them, are distributed into four hereditary classes. One of these embraces, it would seem, the conquered natives,[2] whose position is accordingly most abject. The remainder, who form the Áryan part of the community, are (1) Bráhmans, or religious teachers, (2) Kshatriyas, or knights, and (3) Vaiśyas, or tradesmen. But in social rank the Bráhman always rises very high above his fellows. He is the depository of Divine wisdom and authority. A belief in his exalted origin[3] secures him the profoundest reverence even of the royal family. His duties are indeed so rigorously defined, his life is so divided between study, labour, and austerities, that he is precluded from intermeddling in affairs of state or from otherwise exceeding the bounds of his position: yet in all that appertains to knowledge, secular or sacred, he is absolute and unimpeachable.

The 'twice-born.'

The steps by which the Bráhman gained this vast ascendancy are matters only of conjecture. Traces may be found of some mighty conflict between him

[1] These were edited and translated under the title *Mánava Dharma-Śástra* by Sir G. C. Haughton, who based his labours on the older version of Sir W. Jones. Scholars are, however, still divided as to the antiquity of this compilation: cf. Ritter, I. 72 sq. with Elphinstone, *Hist. of India*, pp. 226 sq. 3rd ed. Of course many of the materials were far more ancient: but the most probable date of the appearance of the code in its present form is about the fifth century B.C. (later than the rise of Buddhism, and earlier than the great epic poems).

[2] Lassen, I. 799. So impure and abject were the members of this fourth class, that Bráhmans might not read the Védas, even to themselves, in the presence of a Śúdra; while to teach him the law, or instruct him in the mode of expiating sin, was sure to sink a Bráhman into the hell called Asamvrita (Elphinstone, pp. 16, 17). Yet the chańdála, or offspring of intercourse which violated the law of caste, was held to be even more contemptible. He was classed with 'dogs and crows.'

[3] See above, p. 189, n. 1.

and the Kshatriya, between the champion of intelligence and the champion of physical prowess; and even after the Bráhman was victorious, the distinction he had won was far less absolute than that which separated all the three superior classes from the wretched súdras they had crushed. Each individual of those three classes was *dwija*, 'twice-born': on arriving at maturity, they all received a special tonsure, and were all invested with a thread that symbolised their elevation far above the multitude, that gave them access to the Védas, and, it may be, intimated a belief that souls of a superior order had in recompense of previous merits been permitted to spend another life in tenements so honourable.[1] CHAP. I.

New phase of Pantheism.

But the Hindú doctrine of caste is intimately connected with other central verities of their religion. The Bráhman occupied the highest place in the gradations of society, because he was believed to stand in the most intimate relation to the Supreme Being, because the Spirit of the Universe had been most clearly imaged forth in him. For during all this second period of Hindúism we shall find the various species of existence ultimately traced to unity, on the ground that each is a constituent part of God, and that its special character depends upon its distance, or the measure of its aberration, from the primal source of being. In the creed of Bráhmanism, as methodised by 'orthodox' philosophy, God alone is truly said to be: all other forms of life are, as to their material properties, but empty and illusive; while, as to their spiritual properties, they are but

[1] Cf. Fred. von Schlegel, *Phil. of Hist.* II. 318. pp. 156, 157; Wuttke,

CHAP. I. transient scintillations of His glory. Alone, supreme, and unapproachable, a feeling of dissatisfaction with Himself had crossed the mind of the Great Solitary. He longed for offspring, and at length determined to resolve the primitive simplicity of His essence, and transform Himself into a world which might contrast with His eternal quietude. From this desire of God has sprung whatever is, or is to be: the earth, the sky, the rock, the flower, the forest, the innumerable tribes of gods and men, of beasts and demons,—these, so far as they possess a true existence, are all consubstantial with divinity. The basis underlying all the forms which they assume is the Ineffable, the Uncreated. God may be regarded as the undeveloped world, the world as the development of God. He is both the fountain and the stream, the cause and the effect, the one Creator and the one creation. 'As the spider spins and gathers back [its thread]; as plants sprout on the earth; as hairs grow on a living person; so is this universe, here, produced from the imperishable nature. By contemplation the vast one germinates; from him food [*or*, body] is produced; and thence, successively, breath, mind, real [elements], worlds and immortality arising from [good] deeds."[1] Expressions of this kind had not unnaturally suggested to some minds the inference that the pantheism of ancient India was simple and materialistic: but a further insight into the philosophy, at least so far as it appears in monuments of the Bráhmanic age,[2] will prove such inferences to be erroneous. We may not

[1] An extract given by Colebrooke (*Asiat. Researches*, VIII. 475) from a upanishad of the fourth Véda.

[2] A specimen is subjoined from the first chapter of the *Laws of Manu* (Jones' *Works*, III. 66, 4to. ed.): 'He, whom the mind alone

indeed, be able to decide with confidence respecting the complexion of the earliest Hindú metaphysics, since the Védas, notwithstanding the ingenuity of their commentators,[1] will be found to have contained a very slender metaphysical element: but as soon as ever an attempt was made to bring the ruder superstitions of their forefathers into harmony with more refined conceptions of the Godhead, the whole tone of Hindú pantheism is subtilized, to the extent of questioning the reality of the material world itself. All forms assumed by matter are then held to be not only transient but illusive. The semblance of reality which they possess is due to Máyá,[2]—the personification of God's fruitless longing for some being other than His own,—the power, by which, in different

'*Máyá.*'

can perceive, whose essence eludes the external organs, who has no visible parts, who exists from eternity, even *He*, the soul of all beings, whom no being can comprehend, shone forth in person. He, having willed to produce various beings *from His own divine substance*, first with a thought created the waters, and placed in them a productive seed,' &c.

[1] For instance, they have tried to evolve the principal dogmas of the Védánta philosophy, on the unity and universality of spirit, from a long hymn of the *Rig-Véda*, II. 125 sq., ed. Wilson.

[2] On this peculiar feature of Bráhmanism, see Wuttke, II. 282 sq., who shews that in the Vaidic period, *máyá* meant no more than the desire of evolution. However, the idea of *máyá*, as fully developed, always implies 'illusion,' 'unreality': it means that God, who in himself had no attributes, was beguiled into a belief that He possessed them by his union with *máyá*, or his own longing; and so appeared to create, preserve, and destroy. The following illustration from the *Probodha-Chandrodaya*, as translated by Goldstücker (Ibid. p. 284) will throw further light upon this subject: 'Maja [*i. e.* Máyá] ist unbegreiflich. Gleich einer unzüchtigen Dirne lässt sie den höchsten Geist Dinge sehen, die gar nicht existiren, und täuscht ihn so. Der Göttliche, dessen Glanz dem Krystalle gleicht, der niemals sich verändert, ward durch sie, die Unehrbare, in heftige Unruhe versetzt. Er, der Wissende, hing unklaren Phantasien nach, und da er in den von der Maja bereiteten Schlummer fiel, erblickte er betäubt vielgestaltige Träume: ich bin, diess ist mein Vater, diess meine Mutter, diess mein Feld, mein Reichthum *u. s. w.* . . . . Wie ein See in den Truggebilden der Mittagssonne erscheint, so entfaltete sich das fleckenlose Licht aus unrichtiger Erkenntniss als Äther, Luft, Feuer, Wasser, Erde.'

CHAP. I. words, the Absolute had been Himself beguiled from His original quietude. But while matter is thus held to be essentially non-existent, that which underlies and animates the whole of the phenomenal universe is one with the Divinity, who, by a species of self-analysis, has brought Himself under the conditions of the finite and the temporal, and must in future so continue till the visible is ultimately reabsorbed by the invisible, and multiplicity reduced afresh to simple unity.

It must not, however, be supposed that this idea of one original and all-pervading spirit (Mahán-Átmá) was irreconcileable with the old polytheism. On the contrary, the pantheon of the Indo-Aryans was enlarged instead of narrowed in the progress of this second period, till, as seen in the Puráńas, it has reached a most appalling magnitude. I shall here-

The Hindú triad.

after have occasion to refer specifically to the sacred triad of the Bráhmans, and shall therefore only touch upon it here, as one example of a law by which the mind of the Hindú was constantly disposed to view all forms of being under triune aspects.[1] Addicted from

[1] Wuttke, with a truly Germanic passion for symmetrical arrangement, and well-rounded theories, has represented this tendency in a genealogical form:

Das sich entfaltende Brahma

	Entstehen	Bestehen	Vergehen
	Geburt	Leben	Tod
	Satva	Radschas	Tamas
	Licht	Luft	Feuer
	Himmel	Oberwelt	Unterwelt
	Indra	Varuna	Agni
	Brahmá	Vischnu	Çiva
	Götter	Menschen	Thiere
	Geist	Seele	Körper
(Seele:)	Selbstheit	Gemüth	Verstand
(Körper:)	Kopf	Brust	Bauch
	Brahmanen	Xatrija	Vaiçja.

the first to the examination of natural phenomena, he could not fail to witness year by year the rise, the growth, the death (in order to the reproduction) of vegetable matter. The concentration of his thoughts on such a process had induced the habit of generalising his conceptions, and finally of picturing all the changes of the universe as an effect of generating, preserving, and dissolving forces. It was by this process also that the properties of creation, of preservation, of destruction (as the medium of regeneration) were personified and worshipped as Brahmá, Vishńu, and Śiva. The absolute and self-existent, the impersonal That, by which the universe was first projected into being, whose creative energies still operate in never-ending cycles, had been thus presented to the Hindú mind as 'three only:'[1] while some elevated spirits, searching after the one supreme God, 'if haply they might find Him,' laboured to identify the object of their search with the first member of the sacred triad. As he was called Brahmá (masculine), they named it Brahma (neuter). But results which we have noticed in the Vaidic age were no less visible in this. The lofty product of man's generalising faculty was too ethereal and transcendant for the cognizance of ordinary spirits. So remote was Brahma from the sphere of sinful finite beings, so unloving and impersonal his character, that no temple was erected and no victim offered in his honour: and even his more concrete image, the personified Brahmá, has

Brahmá and Brahma.

[1] See *Asiatic Researches*, VIII. 395—397, where Colebrooke quotes a remarkable passage from the *Nirukta*, affirming that the gods are 'only three' in number. It will be noticed more at length in Chap. II.

CHAP. I. never, in historic times, conciliated to himself a share of popular veneration.[1]

No apter illustration can be furnished of the shifting and capricious genius of Hindú mythology, than the fact that of those three divinities who rank foremost in the system of the Bráhmans, Śiva had been previously unhonoured and unknown. The other two had, in like manner, held subordinate positions, Vishńu figuring in the Védas as an elemental god like Varuńa, and Brahmá, if there identical with Brahman,[2] being merely an equivalent for Agni. And in strict accordance with these facts, the highest tenants of the Hindú pantheon are still viewed as finite beings, liable, when certain revolutions are completed, to dethronement and extinction. They partake of the phenomenal character of the universe; and therefore the eventual winding up of all things will necessitate their reabsorption.

It is thus apparent that the fundamental dogma of the Bráhmans is the dogma of *emanation*. The Divinity is believed to be resolved, diffused, discerpted, and so weakened. All things are imperfect, because all are in a state of flux and reflux; their intrinsic character depending on their ever-varying distance from the centre of unity, or on the number of the intermediate links by which they are removed from the original essence.

[1] See Stuhr, *Religions-systeme des Orients*, I. 97, 98. He is still worshipped by one class, the Bráhmans, at sunrise every morning: but (as Mr. Elphinstone remarks) he 'was never much worshipped, and has now but one temple in India' (p. 89, 3rd ed.).

[2] See Langlois, *Rig-Véda*, IV. 386: where we find a hymn on the marriage of Brahman and Júhú. In many other passages of the *Rig-Véda* Brahmanaspati = Agni, where Brahman appears to mean 'priest.'

Hindú theory of man;

And the same idea will help us more than any other to elucidate the Hindú theory of man. The 'orthodox' philosopher uniformly started, in his speculations on this subject, from the Divine side of things, because with him spirit is all-important, and the human spirit consubstantial with the Spirit of the universe. But owing to a happy inconsistency, which reappears in many later speculations, Hindú pantheism could not altogether blast those instincts of the soul which lead man to assert his individuality and the inherent freedom of his choice. A few who called themselves philosophers yielded, it is true, to logical pressure, and adopted the degrading error of the fatalist; they argued that the foulest crimes of man are ultimately wrought by Brahma, and therefore that the guilt is not attributable to the human instrument:[1] but even his own distorted version of the Fall will testify that the Hindú was dimly conscious all the while of his original freedom and nobility. According to that tradition,[2] God, when He determined to project the universe, gave birth at once to all particular souls. At first, they were both free and happy, but, impelled by envy and ambition, they eventually broke away still further from the primal essence, and so forfeited their eminent place among celestial intelligences. A world, or rather purgatory, was then constructed for their habitation: it came forth already blighted and disorganised; and out of it

and of the world.

[1] The Christian missionary of the present day is not unfrequently repulsed, when speaking of righteousness and judgment to come, by such assertions as the following: 'I have neither sin nor guilt, for every thing is wrought in me by Brahma:' cf. Wuttke, II. 332. 'Adhuc enim mihi videbatur, non esse nos qui peccamus, sed nescio quam aliam in nobis peccare naturam.' S. August. *Confess.* v. 10.

[2] See more on this subject in Chap. III.

CHAP. I. was made the human body of the same debased material, in order to supply more deadly instruments of torture, and more dismal cells for the incarceration of the damned.[1] The Here and visible had thus become in Bráhmanism the dark antithesis of the Hereafter and invisible; and we learn, accordingly, how from the doctrine of *emanation* had sprung up a second characteristic principle of this creed,—the doctrine of *dualism*. So lost, however, is the human spirit, so oppressed by the ungenial atmosphere around it, and so weakened by the sinful burdens of the flesh, that though in every case believed to be recoverable, many a life of pain and penance will be ordinarily needed for promoting its exaltation and securing its return. It may at first, for instance, be united with the lowest species of organic life; and, under favourable circumstances, may ascend in its successive births 'into the bodies of spiders, of snakes, of chameleons' and the like, until deemed worthy of inhabiting a human tenement. The trial then begins which will determine all its future destiny. An opportunity has been given it of achieving its own liberation; and according to the present quality of its actions it will mount directly upwards through the ranks of demi-gods and gods, or plunge again into the lower region of existence, and commence a fresh series of births. It may be that this vast idea of transmigration was suggested partly by man's growing consciousness of his demerit, partly by his inability to account for the existing distribution of rewards and punishments, partly by observing points of contact and resemblance between faculties and

Doctrine of transmigration.

[1] See the picture of a human body in Manu, chap. VI. §§ 77, 78.

instincts of the lower animals and those of human beings. But, however prompted, the idea of transmigration became at length so deeply rooted in the creed of Hindústán, that even the most rampant forms of infidelity were unable to dislodge it. The first aim of the Bráhmanical system, as interpreted alike by peasant and philosopher, was to shorten the duration of such wanderings, or diminish the amount of purgatorial suffering: and the highest glory of that system, in the eyes of all its votaries, was to furnish rules or grant indulgences, by which they might attain immediate and complete exemption from such terrible necessity.[1]

Character of the popular religion.

What, then, are the methods which the Bráhman has prescribed for the attainment of supreme felicity, or reabsorption into God? These methods are reducible to two. The first, adapted to the character and capacities of the many, consisted chiefly, not to say exclusively, of outward and mechanical acts of worship. Moral merit[2] was by them confounded

[1] 'This belief [in a metempsychosis] is not to be looked upon as a mere popular superstition: it is the main principle of all Hindú metaphysics; it is the foundation of all Hindú philosophy. The great object of their philosophical research in every system, Bráhmanical or Buddhist, is the discovery of the means of putting a stop to further transmigration; the discontinuance of corporeal being; the liberation of soul from body.' Wilson, *Pref.* to the *Sánkhya Káriká*, p. x. Oxf. 1837.

[2] For instance, it is declared in the *Laws of Manu* (ch. II. § 79: Jones' *Works*, III. 94): 'A twice-born man [*i. e.* a member of any of the three superior castes], who shall a thousand times repeat those three (or Óm, the vyáhritis, and the gáyatrí) apart [from the multitude] shall be released in a month even from a great offence, as a snake from his slough.' Again (§ 82): 'Whosoever shall repeat day by day, for three days, without negligence, that sacred text, shall [hereafter] approach the Divine essence, move freely as air, and assume an ethereal form.' Cf. also the consentient testimony of the late Col. Sleeman, a very acute observer of the peculiarities of the Hindú mind, in his *Rambles and Recollections*, II. 18, 19.

CHAP. I. with ritual punctuality. The repetition of the sacred texts which they had gathered from the teaching of the Bráhmans, though the śúdra-class was rigorously denied this scanty privilege; the invocation of a host of deities; the deprecation of evil spirits; dutiful obedience to the priestly order, and merciful regard for every class of sentient creatures,[1]—these were deemed the fittest passport, not indeed to absolute repose, but to a loftier and more hopeful stage of being on the dissolution of the present body.

Character of the philosophical religion.

It was very different with the second and far smaller class, the early mystics and philosophers of Hindústán. By these the doctrine of God's abstract unity was more completely realised, and therefore when they countenanced the worship of the *dévas*, it was only as the old Socinian worshipped Christ, or as the Roman-Catholic of the present age professes to adore the saints.[2] They even shrank from the idea of giving attributes to God, and so reducing Him within the sphere of human sympathies, but laboured, on the other hand, to raise humanity at once into complete equality with the Divine. Their favourite motto was, 'He who knows the Supreme God becomes God.' On the wings of knowledge, therefore, these philosophers hoped to rise indefinitely until they lost themselves in that which is alone true being,—the abysses of the Absolute and Universal. They did not, it may be, reject the ceremonial worship of their forefathers; they did not feel exonerated from the duty of restraining their sensual appetites, but rather would insist upon the need of

[1] See *Manu*, ch. XII. § 83.

[2] See the language of a Portuguese missionary in Von Bohlen, *Das alte Indien*, I. 153.

violent austerities in order to escape more easily from every fascination of the natural life: yet, on the other hand, the pinnacles on which they stood were so exalted and so inaccessible to the many, that a total separation was now forming between them and other classes of their fellow-countrymen, between the follower of the Hindú Gnosis and the herd of vulgar and unlettered souls: and, as the tradesman could never gain the social eminence of the soldier, nor the soldier of the Bráhman, none but members of the learned class were they to whom immediate liberation was made possible. The rest had, speaking generally, been doomed to wander on for ages, and to undergo an almost endless series of new births. CHAP. I.

Probable age of Bráhmanism.

The object of these pages does not make it necessary for me to adjudicate respecting the antiquity of the religious system, which had manifestly reached its prime on the appearance of the Institutes of Manu. Nearly all competent scholars are inclined to place it far higher than the date of Alexander's expedition,[1] arguing partly from allusions interspersed in Greek writers of the period, and still more from evidence surviving in the two great epic poems of Hindústán,

[1] Almost the only writer of intelligence who now advocates the contrary is Col. Sykes: see *Asiat. Journal*, Vol. VI. He there affirms, 'After a careful collation of facts, I unhesitatingly declare, that I have not met with evidence to satisfy my mind that Bráhmanism *was ever in the ascendant*, until after the fall of Buddhism' (p. 448). He believes that Buddhism was the old religion of the Áryans, and that Bráhmanism first became the popular creed, when Sankhara Áchárya established the exclusive worship of Síva in the 9th century after Christ. In like manner Col. Sykes is of opinion that the Pali is an older language than the Sanskrit, and especially presses the point that, although we have many old inscriptions and coins of Buddhist kings (in Pali), we have none whatever of Bráhmanical kings until the fourth, nay probably until the seventh century after Christ.

CHAP. I. the Rámáyana and Mahábhárata, which not only testify to the continuous struggle of that system, in the south of India, with the older form of heathenism, with 'monsters, giants and barbarous men,' but also indicate the vast predominance obtained by the Bráhmanical order. Yet, however this question may be finally decided, little doubt exists that long before the inroads of the Macedonian hero, adversaries of the 'orthodox' belief were silently arising and acquiring strength beneath its very shadow. As the primitive religion of the Védas was transformed from year to year, until, in spite of their ingenious commentators, we are able to detect few traces of its earlier characteristics, so the creed of Bráhmanism itself was finally assaulted by the learned artifices of the sceptic, and transmuted in the crucible of the philosopher.

§ 3. *Schools of Philosophy.*[1]

Rise of philosophic schools.

While the influence of the sacerdotal order was rapidly increasing, while the Vaidic doctrines were

[1] The two schools entitled to the name of 'orthodox,' are (1) the *Púrva* (earlier) *Mímánsá*, founded by Jaimini, with the design of facilitating the interpretation of the Védas, and (2) the *Uttara* (later) *Mímánsá*, or *Védánta*, attributed to the half-mythical sage Vyása, or by others more correctly to Vyása, named Krishña Dwaipáyana. The name Védánta (anta = 'end') sufficiently denotes the spirit which pervaded the latter system: although the basis of that system must be sought not so much in the Védas proper, as in the Upanishads. See Colebrooke's *Essays on the Philosophy of the Hindús*, as edited, with additions, by Pauthier, Paris, 1833; and the very useful edition of the *Aphorisms* of various schools, printed for the Benares Government College, under the care of Dr. Ballantyne. For a copy of the latter series I am indebted to the courtesy of John Muir, Esq., a true friend of India, who has himself published *An Examination of Religions*, in Sanskrit and English, Part I., Mirzapore, 1852, and Part II., Calcutta, 1854; and a collection, with an English translation, of *Original Sanskrit Texts on the Origin and Progress of the Religion and Institutions of India*, Lond. 1858.

recast in more ideal moulds, and while the popular mind of India, vigorous and creative as before, was on the one side adding to the number of its mythes, and on the other forming new religious confraternities exclusively devoted to the worship either of Śiva or Vishńu, the thinking class of the community was more and more estranged from the religion of their fathers. They began to pry into such questions as the following: 'What is the original element, or power of nature, lying at the base of all phenomena? What is man, and whence? Whither is he tending? Which of all things is the most important? What is truth? And what must be my aim in order that I may have done what is fitting to be done?' These questions might be turned aside or deemed unanswerable by many to whom they were presented; but others, reeling under the burden they imposed, would not unfrequently retire for comfort to the neighbouring forest, and as followers gathered round them, each might finally become the centre of a literary circle, if not the founder of a school. At first, however, the contemplative philosopher might be unconscious, or but slightly conscious, of his opposition to the 'sacred' writings. He might even, like the earliest race of Christian schoolmen, be desirous of employing philosophic methods only to establish popular belief on a more rational and lasting basis. To his efforts, therefore, we may be indebted for the systematic moulding of Hindúism, which appears in the post-Vaidic writings; since every school of 'orthodox' philosophy manifests the deepest veneration both for lyric and dogmatic portions of the Védas. These are deemed the utterances of God himself; and, as par-

Orthodox philosophy.

CHAP. I. taking of His essence, they are absolute, infallible, eternal.[1]

Heterodox philosophy.

Yet other thoughtful spirits, who have frequent representatives in later times and distant countries,[2] grew more daring in their philosophical speculations. They were more disposed to start afresh in their pursuit of knowledge, to devise a theory of religion for themselves, and gather the materials mainly, if not solely, from their observation of the world around them. It was rather in the open book of nature than in the traditionary hymns and legends that they hoped to find a satisfactory solution of their multiplying doubts.

This bolder race of Hindú speculators we shall most conveniently study in three classes, (*a*) the 'atheistic' Sánkhya, (*b*) Buddhism, (*c*) the eclectic, or intermediate school, as represented in the Bhagavad-Gítá.

a. Sánkhya Philosophy.

The Sánkhya school.

The author of the Sánkhya philosophy was Kapila, who, like the great majority of educated Hindús, was probably a Bráhman; though his later followers hold that he obtained his knowledge of the twenty-five categories, which formed the basis of his teaching,

[1] For example, it is stoutly contended by the school of Mímánsá (*Aphorisms*, Part I. pp. 32 sq. ed. Ballantyne) that the Védas are retrospectively eternal, notwithstanding the occurrence in them of names of men, &c.

[2] Cousin, while engaged in lecturing on the philosophy of the last century, found himself carried back to India as the birthplace of systems which are often thought to be of modern extraction: 'En effet,' he writes, 'la philosophie indienne est tellement vaste, que tous les systèmes de philosophie s'y rencontrent, qu'elle forme tout un monde philosophique, et qu'on peut dire à la lettre que l'histoire de la philosophie de l'Inde est un abrégé de l'histoire entière de la philosophie.' *Cours de l'Hist. de Philosophie*, I. 180, Paris, 1829.

'merely by birth;' in other words, that he was himself an incarnation of the Deity.[1] The system which he founded was entitled Sánkhya,[2] apparently because the author deemed it a result of pure reason, or deliberate judgment. It professed to remedy the various ills of life, external and internal, by resolving intellectual difficulties, and by revealing to its votary 'the real nature of all that is.' It does not, like some other systems, spend its strength in trying to discriminate between existence and non-existence; it puts the further question, What *made* things as they are? and thus, excepting soul, which is a mute, inert, and passionless spectator of the process, every thing is by the Sánkhya represented under the two aspects of 'producer' and 'production.'[3] CHAP. I.

Its materialism.

In this creed, the plastic origin of all material things, the primary productive essence[4] (*prakriti*), whose properties come before us in sensation, is the 'undiscrete,' the indestructible, the all-embracing, or, in modern phraseology, the Absolute. 'Creation' is the individualising of this universal principle: yet the motive power is due in no case to a conscious and designing Agent, but rather to blind impulses, evolving first intelligence, or *buddhi*, one of the inherent properties of the material essence, and then self-consciousness, the third in order of the Sánkhya

[1] See Dr. Ballantyne's *Lecture on the Sánkhya Philosophy*, embracing the text of the *Tattwa-Samása*, Mirzapore, 1850.

[2] Sánkhya from sankhyá = 'number,' and also 'reason.' Hence 'the rational system.' Others find in the name a reference to something like the Pythagorean theory of numbers. It is worth observing that the modern Buddhists of Ceylon frequently call their teachers 'the clergy of reason:' Tennent, *Christianity in Ceylon*, p. 192.

[3] *Lecture*, as above, p. 53.

[4] On its affinity with the ὕλη of Plato and Aristotle, see M. Pauthier's note on Colebrooke, *Essais*, p. 17.

CHAP. I.

principles.[1] The consciousness of individual existence (*ahan-kára*) is thus, according to the present system, an attribute of matter:[2] its organ is material: it can only be connected with the soul by self-illusion: it is no proper and original element of man; and in the school of Kapila, the aim is so to educate the young philosopher, that he is prepared to lay aside the pronoun *I* entirely, to affirm that souls have individually no interest either in human passions or possessions, and in this sense to declare, as the grand climax of his teaching, 'Neither I am, nor is aught mine, nor is there any I.'[3]

Another feature of the system is that, without impugning the reality of spirit, or refusing to it some directive agency, the active principle in man is always held to be a property of body, and action itself regarded as material. Kapila did not wish, as it would seem, to enter on elaborate discussions touching the origin and destination of man's spiritual nature. Philosophy, he concluded, ought to deal chiefly with phenomena, not with final causes, and excepting hints to the effect that *buddhi*, or intelligence, though itself material, is the link between the soul and matter, we shall look in vain for any definite theory as to the connexion and disconnexion of the visible and the invisible. The Sánkhya speculator had before him two distinct classes of effects, a world produced by nature, and a multitude of souls proceeding from a spiritual essence. The first attracted his chief

[1] *Lecture*, as above, pp. 26, 54.

[2] See *Sánkhya Kárikâ*, ed. Wilson, pp. 175, 176, where it is distinctly affirmed that soul or spirit can have no attributes, and is entirely passive.

[3] Colebrooke, p. 44. The original is remarkable: Násmi na mé náham.

interest. He did not, however, fail to recognise the fact that souls are in the ordinary state of man possessed, or, he would say, deluded by the consciousness of individuality, and that this consciousness will haunt them till, so far as they are interested, all the processes of nature have completed their development. He also held that such activity of nature has no other object than the liberation of the soul: it is an instance of unselfishness: the process will go on with reference to that liberation, till it is no longer needed,—'as a man boiling rice for a meal desists when it is dressed.'[1] 'Generous nature, endued with qualities, does by manifold means accomplish without benefit [to herself] the wish of ungrateful soul, devoid of qualities:'[2] expressions, which, if I mistake not, were among the earliest evidences that philosophic minds were rising to the great conception of self-sacrifice, or rather of spontaneous action in behalf of others.

Is the Sánkhya system atheistic?

How far the Sánkhya system is obnoxious to the charge of atheism, has been frequently disputed.[3] Kapila himself affected to discern, in his peculiar theory of nature, the solution of all human problems, and consequently was disposed to treat assertions of a primal and intelligent Cause, distinct from matter and surpassing nature, as extremely doubtful, or, at least, as philosophically superfluous. Hence opponents,[4] in whose eyes religion and philosophy were

[1] *Sánkhya Káriká*, ed. Wilson, p. 168.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 171.

[3] Cousin, who treats the Sánkhya philosophy as the sensualism [sensationalism] of India, declares that it must always issue in 'materialism, fatalism, atheism' (*Cours* &c. I. 200).

[4] See the *Aphorisms of the Vedánta Philosophy*, Bk. I. ch. I. sect. II. (ed. Ballantyne), containing a 'confutation of the Atheistic doctrines of the Sánkhyas.' One argument is well put, *viz.* that man, who by the philosopher is called upon to identify himself with the course of the world, can-

CHAP. I. convertible terms, assailed him chiefly on this ground, asseverated that his teaching was 'unscriptural' and absurd, repudiated his attempts to shelter himself beneath a figurative interpretation of the Védas, and branded all his speculations with the title 'atheistic' (*nirîswara, i. e.* 'without an *îswara*,' or 'lord'). But his disciples might have urged in mitigation of this charge that Kapila does not entirely overlook the presence of spirit in the midst of the material universe, —inert, indeed, and passionless, 'a bystander, a spectator,'[1] but still a real entity,—and further, that he is not unwilling to assign the origin of individual souls to some great central essence,[2] gifted with volition, and as such, analogous to the abstract God of the Védántins. The truth appears to be that Kapila, in recoiling from their system, rushed at once into the opposite extreme. They laboured to get rid of contradictions between visible and invisible by questioning, and finally denying, the reality of the former. He, perplexed as much as they by the anomalies and apparent dualism of the world, allotted the first place to matter, or at least invested it with all active properties. What was Máyâ, or illusion, in the 'ortho-

not without absurdity be called upon to identify himself with what is unintelligent.

[1] Colebrooke, ed. Pauthier, pp. 40, 180. In reply to the question, What is soul? it is answered (*Lecture*, as above, p. 17): 'Soul is without beginning, subtile, omnipresent, intelligent, without [the three] qualities, eternal, spectator, enjoyer, not an agent, the knower of body, pure, not producing aught.'

[2] This is disputed by a writer in the *Colonial Church Chronicle*, XI. 108; quoting Colebrook's Essay, where it is maintained that the soul is, according to the Sánkhyas, 'neither produced nor productive: it is multitudinous' [*i. e.* there is a multitude of souls, and not one only universal soul] 'individual, sensitive, eternal, unalterable, immaterial.' The view taken in the text is supplied by J. C. Thompson, Introd. to the *Bhagavad Gítá*, p. lxvii. and elsewhere.

dox' creed, became reality in his: it was the true foundation of the visible universe. CHAP. I.

Practical aim of Kapila and his followers.

The Sánkhya was, however, thoroughly Indian in the practical bent of his philosophy. He was striving, like the rest, to purchase an exemption from the fatal liability to repetition of birth; he hoped to further the emancipation of the spirit from the bonds of individuality. And knowledge was the single recipe which he would deign to offer in promoting these desirable results. He laid no stress whatever on the influences of moral goodness; while sacrifice and every form of ritual observance, though the merit of them was in general terms conceded, could possess no charm for him, because they only served to place the worshipper upon a level with the perishable *dévas*, and secured no more than temporary liberation.[1] Such grovelling aims can never satisfy the aspirations of the true philosopher. He, therefore, hastens to strike out a new and independent pathway, free, as he maintains, from every shadow of 'impurity, excess, or deficiency.'[2]

Means of liberation.

If we ask, What is the special character of the remedy to which these wondrous powers may be attributed?—the answer is that it consists of a profound acquaintance with the Sánkhya philosophy, as digested in twenty-five categories; or, in other words, implies a perfect knowledge of the way in which

[1] *Aphorisms of the Sánkhya Philosophy*, Bk. I. Aph. 83: *Sánkhya Káriká*, ed. Wilson, p. 15. In the aphorism, it is maintained, that all liberation, supposed to be wrought out by ritual observances, will be found imperfect and temporary, just because it was the result of *act*, or was accomplished by *means*.

[2] *Sánkhya Káriká*, p. 14. It is curious to observe that the 'impurity' of the Vaidic method arose partly from the countenance there given to *animal* sacrifices.

CHAP. I. mankind are constituted, and the means by which they can escape from the entanglements of self. No sooner have these principles been mastered than the Sánkhya is elevated, potentially at least, to the ultimate stages of existence. Pain and pleasure, vice and virtue cease to operate for him. He is no more susceptible of qualities so accidental and so earthly. It is true that, owing to the force of impulses already given, he must continue for a while to occupy a human body, and must act like other mortals, 'as the potter having set his wheel whirling puts on it a lump of clay, fabricates a vessel and takes it off, and leaves the wheel continuing to turn round;'[1] yet all the *consequences* of action are prevented when the soul is once illuminated by true knowledge. Or if it be asked again, By what peculiar channels man obtains this salutary illumination?—the answer is, By inference, by perception, and, last in order, by tradition or 'right affirmation.'[2] For Kapila was driven to confess not only that some truths may far exceed the range of human vision and the powers of human logic, but that, on their revelation, such high verities are capable of being handed down to future ages. He himself had, for example, been indebted to the ancients for more than one ingredient of the system he had founded.

Kapila's theory of man.

With regard to the capacities of the human subject, Kapila pursued a very independent line. He went so far as to suggest ideas fatal to the vast prerogatives of the Bráhmans. Human souls, he

[1] *Sánkhya Káriká*, pp. 184, 185.

[2] *Lecture*, as above, p. 49. Some of the matters not provable by perception or by inference are said to be, the existence of Indra, the northern Kurus, the golden mountain Méru, the nymphs in Paradise.

argued, though personally distinct,[1] are all of equal worth and elevation. Present inequalities in their condition he referred to the specific structure of men's bodies, or rather to the distribution of the primary elements from which their bodies are compounded. These elements[2] together form a triad. They are purity or goodness (*sattwa*); imperfection, pain or foulness (*rajas*); blind indifference, stupidity or darkness (*tamas*). In proportion to the dominance obtained by one or other of the primary elements, man approaches, first, to the divine or noble; secondly, to the selfish, or the barely human; thirdly, to the bestial, the inert, or the besotted. He alone who by obeying the dictates of true philosophy rises high above the ordinary level is exempted from the risk, or rather the necessity, of emigrating step by step through various forms of bodily organisation. Here, as we have hinted, Kapila was always true to the received opinions; nay, so deeply rooted in his mind was the idea of transmigration, that he started an elaborate theory for its defence. When some began to ask, How souls which he believed to be inactive have the power of passing from one body to another?

Three 'qualities.'

[1] The rival doctrine of the Védántins is presented in the following extract: 'This soul of all worlds is but one: by *whom* is it made more? Some speak of soul as several—seeing that knowledge and other mental states are observable [simultaneously—some being happy whilst others are sad]; but in the Bráhman, the worm and the insect; in the outcaste, the dog and the elephant; in goats, cows, gadflies and gnats, the wise behold the same' [single soul]: *Lecture*, as above, p. 24.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 27. Such a distribution, with other objects, was perhaps much older than Kapila (Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* I. 832): yet the *guna* of the Sánkhyas is no mere attribute, but a substance discernible by soul through the medium of the faculties. In Prakriti, or nature absolute and unmodified, we have the three qualities in perfect equipoise: Wilson, on *Sánk. Kár.* p. 52.

CHAP. I.

or secondly, How it happens that emancipation is not universally effected in the act of disembodiment?—his answer was, that every soul upon its first emission and association with matter, is invested also with a subtile and elastic framework (*linga-śarîra*),[1] the reflection of the more substantial body. This it cannot afterwards abandon till the hour of ultimate emancipation; and a vehicle is consequently found in which the passive soul may be transferred from one material tenement to another.

Theistic Sánkhya.

Acute, however, as the author of the Sánkhya system was, he failed eventually to satisfy the anxious questions of Hindús respecting the Supreme Intelligence. When they demanded by *whom* the human spirit had been made to emanate, or *why* the great primordial element was individualised in human bodies, Kapila could only urge that such had been the necessary order of development, one step of some inscrutable and eternal process. The uniform vagueness of his language on these questions led to the formation of another school, entitled the 'theistic' Sánkhya.[2] It ascribed no will to *prakriti*, or the material essence; it recognised an *îswara*, or lord, and therefore did not hesitate to preach that God exists, that God is the intelligent Source of being, that God allots those varying passions, powers and faculties which men continually exhibit, and that

[1] Colebrooke, pp. 24, 25, with Pauthier's notes. The latter points out the close affinity of this notion to certain speculations of the Greek philosophers and early Fathers of the Church, respecting the corporeity of the soul.

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 34 sq. Wuttke (II. 424) is of opinion that this modification is due to Christian influences: nor is there anything in the chronology adverse to his view; for when Lassen (I. 833) places Patanjali, with whom it is associated, in the 2nd century before Christ, he allows that the evidence for so doing is extremely slight.

God is the great Judge who punishes or rewards according to their conduct. Modified by the accession of these new and better influences, the Sánkhya system grew, and flourished in some districts; though at present hardly any traces of it are discernible in the literary circles of Hindústán.[1]

b. Buddhism.

From the school of Kapila to that of Buddha[2] the transition is most obvious and direct. The close affinity between them did not escape the eye of Colebrooke, and, in spite of Ritter's disbelief, the truth of his remark has been continually verified.[3] One system is indeed no more than the extension and practical embodiment of the other. I am not desirous of maintaining absolutely that principles allied in some degree to those of Buddhism were unknown to other Asiatics in still earlier times.[4] What I intend

[1] In the present day, if it survive at all, we have to search for it among the labyrinths of German metaphysics. Prof. Wilson says: 'During the whole of my intercourse with learned natives, I met with but one Brahman who professed to be acquainted with the writings of this school.' Pref. to the *Sánkhya Káriká*, p. viii.

[2] See a new work by C. F. Kœppen, *Die Religion des Buddha und ihre Entstehung*. Berlin, 1857.

[3] See, for instance, Lassen, I. 830, 831: Saint-Hilaire, *Des Védas*, p. 147. The latter observes with justice, that all the indianists 'n'hésitent pas à reconnaître dans le bouddhisme, devenu plus tard une religion, un développement et une copie du sânkhya de Kapila. La resemblance ne peut faire le moindre doute pour qui se donnera la peine d'étudier les deux doctrines: les bases de l'une et de l'autre sont identiques.'

[4] 'It may be,' says Mr. Hardy, (*Manual of Buddhism*, p. 88, Lond. 1853) 'that Gótama presented himself to the world as the successor of men, whose claims to supreme authority were thus acknowledged; but I have not yet met with any well-authenticated data of their doctrines or deeds.' Yet even this has been positively denied by W. von Humboldt in his great work, *Ueber die Kawi-Sprache*, I. 290: 'Sowohl die Annahme eines Vor-Brahmanischen, als eines ursprünglich Ausser-Indischen Buddhismus, bedarf keiner Widerlegung mehr.' Cf.

CHAP. I. by Buddhism, is the system of metaphysical and social philosophy, organised by Śákya-muni, or Gautama Buddha. Neither am I speaking here of Buddhism in its modern development, as modified by intermixtures either with the popular forms of Bráhmanism, or with the older superstitions of the countries where it afterwards gained a footing: for that view of it will come more properly before us, when we pass from Hindústán to China, and the other regions where it still possesses a complete ascendancy. In different words, we shall be dealing now with a philosophy rather than with a religion.

General date of Buddhism.

Although in passing to a survey of the principles of Buddhism, we entirely quit the region of the mythe and enter that of the historic legend, and although the ground we have to traverse is in general less encumbered by chronological difficulties, the point of starting has not hitherto been absolutely determined. The narratives that wear the greatest semblance of probability are the Chinese on one side, and the Sing'-halese on the other; while of these conflicting authorities, the latter is preferred by nearly all competent writers of the present day.[1] The death of Gautama

on the other side, Col. Sykes, as above, p. 205, n. 1. I may here also add, that the religion of the Jains, which still survives in Guzerat and other parts of India, is connected in its origin, if not absolutely one with Buddhism: see Colebrooke, *Asiat. Res.* IX. 279 sq. Stuhr *Die Religionssysteme*, &c. I. 61 sq.

[1] E. Burnouf, *Introduction à l'histoire du Bouddhisme indien*, Pref. p. iii. p. 587, Paris, 1844; Lassen, II. 51 sq.; Elphinstone, pp. 111, 112, 3rd ed.; Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 353. Mr. Elphinstone makes the following observations, in the justice of which almost every one is now disposed to acquiesce: 'These discrepancies are too numerous to be removed by the supposition that they refer to an earlier and a later Budha; and that expedient is also precluded by the identity of the name Sakya, and of every circumstance in the lives of the persons to whom such different dates are assigned. We must, therefore, either pronounce the

is thus ascribable to the year 543 B.C., *i. e.* two centuries before the date of Alexander's expedition.

Early biography of Gautama.

When the primitive story is divested of the countless fables[1] in which it has been decked by later superstition, Gautama is there presented not as one of many incarnations of the Deity,[2] nor as the sole

Indian Báudhas to be ignorant of the date of a religion which arose among themselves, and at the same time must derange the best established part of the Hindú chronology; or admit that an error must have occurred in Cashmír or Tibet, through which places it crept into the more eastern countries, when they received the religion of Budha, many centuries after the death of its founder. As the latter seems by much the most probable explanation, we may safely fix the death of Budha about 550 B.C.' There are persons who identify Buddha with the prophet Daniel, and ascribe the appearance of Buddhism in India to the captivity and dispersion of the Jews!! See Wilson's paper in *Journal of As. Soc.* (1856) XVI. 233.

[1] See the very copious legends of Gótama (or, more properly, Gautama = a descendant of Gotama) in Mr. Hardy's *Manual of Buddhism*, pp. 139—353. These are drawn exclusively from Sing'halese sources, but are identical with accounts now circulated in Birmah and Siam, and have also very much in common with the Tibetan traditions, as previously reported by Csoma Körösi, and still more fully in the *Rgya Tch' er Rol Pa* (a Tibetan history of Buddha, *circ.* 150 B.C. ed. Foucaux, Paris, 1847); with the Nepálese traditions, as reported by Mr. B. H. Hodgson; with the Mongolian (Tataric) traditions, as reported by M. Schmidt, and with the Chinese as preserved in the *Foe Koue Ki*, and translated by Abel Rémusat. Professor Wilson (as above, pp. 247, 248) has suggested various considerations, which in his judgment throw suspicion on these narratives, and 'render it very problematical whether any such person as Śąkya Sinha, or Śákya-muni, or Sramaña Gautama, ever actually existed.' The reader is also referred to an admirable sketch of Śákya-muni in M. Saint-Hilaire's recent work *Du Bouddhisme*, pp. 28—123, Paris, 1855, where the historical and legendary elements are separated with great care and acumen.

[2] On the story which had reached St. Jerome, and was repeated by Ratramnus, respecting the birth of Gautama from the side of a *Virgin*, see Lassen, III. 370. In the *Lalita Vistara* (included in M. Foucaux's Tibetan history of Buddha, and assigned by him, and Wilson after him, to about 150 B.C.) Gautama is said to have previously attained the rank of Bódhisatwa (which is inferior only to that of Buddha) in the Tushita heaven, where he taught the doctrine to innumerable millions of Bódhisatwas, &c. To rise to the elevation of a perfect Buddha one existence more on earth was necessary, and he therefore becomes incarnate as the son of the Śákya prince

CHAP. I. receptacle of the divine Intelligence, but simply as a man,—a man of gentle, ardent, pensive, philanthropic nature. Descended from a royal house in one of the most polished provinces of central India, he was nurtured in the midst of luxury, and with the prospect of unbroken happiness. But ere he reached the flower of manhood Gautama grew weary of the pomp and pleasures of his father's court. Presentiments by which he seems to have been haunted almost from his cradle, and the ever-darkening pictures which he drew of human wretchedness and mutability, had filled his heart with sadness bordering on despair. At last, abandoning his favourite wife, he stole away entirely from the palace; and at the age of nine-and-twenty sought relief in the society of Bráhmans, with whom he lived six years a life of study and asceticism. It was while occupied in these pursuits, resisting the temptations to sensual pleasure, and mourning over the prostration of the universe at large, that he awoke to the idea of standing forth among his fellow-men in the capacity of liberator and reformer.[1] Hitherto he was but Śákya-

Suddhódana, king of Kapilavastu, and Máyá his wife: he is born miraculously from his mother's side, who died seven days after his birth. Wilson, in *Journal of As. Soc.* (1856) XVI. 243. The feeling which prompted this peculiar theory of incarnation was subsequently shared by the Valentinians, and in the 16th century by our Joan of Kent: see Hardwick's *Hist. of Reformation*, pp. 278, 279, and n. 6. In the fabulous legend of Lao-tse, composed as late as A.D. 350, he also is said to have issued from the left side of his mother, who carried him in her womb for 72 years: see the 'Introd.' to S. Julien's edition of the *Tao-te-King*, p. xxiii.

[1] He finally thought himself capable of becoming the deliverer of the whole universe. See the narrative in Saint-Hilaire, pp. 55 sq. 'Il avait enfin trouvé la voie forte du grand homme, la voie du sacrifice des sens, la voie infaillible et sans abattement, la voie de la bénédiction et de la vertu, la voie sans tache, sans envie, sans ignorance, et sans passion . . . la voie

Foundation of Buddhism.

muni, the 'solitary' of the race of Śákya; now he fancied himself entitled to the appellation *Buddha*, 'the awakened,' 'the enlightened.' He collected, in the midst of spiritual ecstacies, that during the present cycle of the universe he was exalted to the very highest point of being, and that by renunciation of the world he had been freed from all the limitations of natural existence. For the sake, however, of promoting the emancipation of others, he did not pass away immediately into his ultimate condition. He resolved to be the founder of a school; but instead of acting like the Brâhmans, he exhibited at once the deep and comprehensive basis on which he thought a worthier fabric should be reared. He preached in public at Benares (Varanásí), and afterwards in other parts of northern and central India, fascinating a large crowd of followers, by the beauty of his person, the feminine suavity of his manners, his ardour, his austerities, the touching eloquence of his address, the mildness and philanthropy of his doctrines,[1] his use

qui mène à la possession de la science universelle, la voie du souvenir et du jugement, la voie qui adoucit la vieillesse et la mort, la voie calme et sans trouble, exempte des craintes du démon, qui conduit à la cité du Nirvána:' *Ibid.* p. 57.

[1] 'The two most successful religious impostures, which the world has yet seen, are Buddhism and Muhammádanism. Each creed owed its origin to the enthusiasm of a single individual, and each was rapidly propagated by numbers of zealous followers. But here the parallel ends: for the *Kurán* of Muhammad was addressed wholly to the 'passions' of mankind, by the promised gratification of human desires both in this world and in the next; while the *Dharma* of Sákya Muni was addressed wholly to the 'intellect,' and sought to wean mankind from the pleasures and vanities of this life by pointing to the transitoriness of all human enjoyment... The former propagated his religion by the merciless edge of the sword; the latter by the persuasive voice of the missionary. The sanguinary career of the Islamite was lighted by the lurid flames of burning cities; the peaceful progress of the Buddhist was illuminated by the cheerful faces of the sick in monastic hospitals [for the crippled, the deformed, the destitute] and by

CHAP. I. of the vernacular language, and, according to the legends, a profuse display of wonder-working powers.

Its early propagation.

When Gautama breathed his last, at the advanced age of eighty, Buddhism had been firmly rooted in some parts of Hindústán. The sayings of the founder were gradually collected into Sútras,[1] which, on being augmented by the Vinaya and Abhidharma (disciplinary and metaphysical treatises), became the rivals of the Vaidic literature. These all were duly authorised in synods;[2] and ere long the doctrines which they recommended had so far prevailed that they were threatening to eradicate the ancient system. Of Hindú kings who manifested an especial interest in the spread of Buddhism, none was more conspicuous than Aśoka,[3] who, on abandoning the hereditary faith,

the happy smiles of travellers reposing in Dharmasálás by the road-side. The one was the personification of bodily activity and material enjoyment; the other was the genius of corporeal abstinence and intellectual contemplation.' Cunningham, *Bhilsa Topes*, pp. 53, 54. Buddhism has been defined as a 'puritan-quietist' offshoot from Hindúism.

[1] 'Sútra' is properly a 'philosophical aphorism;' but like other Sanskrit words, it acquired a technical meaning from its adoption by the Buddhists. The oldest of their *Sútras* are written, for the most part, in simple prose, the text, as now preserved, belonging to the first century after Christ. The genuine *Sútras*, whether in Sanskrit or in Páli, all begin with the expression, 'This has been heard by me,' implying that they are the *ipsissima verba* of Sákya. 'We may consider it established upon the most probable evidence that the chief *Sanskrit* authorities of the Buddhists still in our possession were written, at the latest, from a century and a half before, to as much after, the era of Christianity.' Wilson, *Buddha and Buddhism* (*Journ. of As. Soc.* XVI. 240). The *Páli* works of southern India date from the fifth century after Christ. The later compositions indicate the influence of foreign admixtures, and in one the parable of the Prodigal Son is said to have been distinctly reproduced: Wuttke, II. 522: see also Saint-Hilaire, *Du Bouddhisme*, p. 126. One of the most interesting relics of 'orthodox' Buddhism is the *Lotus de la bonne Loi*, translated from the Sanskrit by Burnouf, Paris, 1852.

[2] See a full account of these extraordinary assemblies in Cunningham, pp. 55 sq.

[3] See the narrative in Lassen, II. 215 sq. Buddhism thus became *the* religion, the state-religion of India, in the third cen-

endeavoured at the middle of the third century before Christ to give the new religion a predominance in districts far beyond the boundaries of Magadha. The Bráhmans had in early times diffused their influence, either by the agency of the sword, or of religious solitaries, who, bent on self-renunciation, settled in the territory of the unbeliever, and bore silent witness to the creed and worship of their forefathers. Bráhmanism, however, could not propagate itself except by making súdras of all people whom it vanquished; for to spread the higher elements of religious knowledge among those who were not genuine Áryans, was believed to be peculiarly profane. Buddhism, on the other hand, made no distinction in the quality of the persons it addressed; and, in a synod held 246 B.C. a regular plan was organised for propagating the new faith by means analogous to those employed hereafter in conducting Christian *missions*,—by pacific and persuasive teaching, and translating Buddhist writings into foreign languages.

Buddhism is diffused in Kashmír, and China:

The first-fruits of their mighty harvest were gathered in Kashmír: and under Ming-Te the flexible creed of Buddhist emissaries won for them admission to the court of the 'celestial empire,' A.D. 61,—exactly at the time when Christianity was marching forth in all its pristine vigour to subdue the kingdoms of the western world. The Buddhists, it is true, could not eventually retain their hold on India. After thriving for a thousand years, and writing

tury, B.C. The dynasties, which reigned in the chief cities of India, were Súdras. Buddhism was losing ground rapidly in the seventh century of our era; and was extirpated under Sankara-Áchárya.

CHAP. I. a triumphant history in monasteries,[1] and enormous temples excavated from the living rock, there came a vast and terrible revulsion in the feelings of the populace. The younger sister was violently extruded by the elder from all parts of Hindústán,[2] if we except one scanty remnant at the foot of the Himálaya. Yet meanwhile Buddhism had evinced a property unknown to every other heathen system. It was far more capable of transplantation. It flourished with peculiar freshness and luxuriance in Tibet, and ultimately in the Tartar tribes of central Asia. Above all, it kept possession of its ancient fortress in the island of Ceylon; and thither in the early centuries of our era flocked a multitude of foreign pilgrims, anxious by such visit to abridge their term of penitential suffering, to venerate the relics of Gautama Buddha, or to kiss the print of his gigantic foot.

is expelled from India.

Points of contact with Bráhmanism.

What then were the characteristics of this marvellous system as originally constituted? Its founder, we discern at once, had common ground with Bráhmanism, which, notwithstanding, he endeavoured to demolish. He took for granted the hereditary doctrine of transmigration; he argued, like his predecessors, for eternal cycles of the universe, and infinite successions of births and new births. It was a fundamental article of the Buddhist creed that 'he who is now the most degraded of the demons may one day rule the highest of the heavens; he who is at present

[1] Vihâras = monasteries: Sthúpas ('topes') = monuments erected over Buddhist reliquiæ (between the third and seventh centuries of our era).

[2] In the eleventh century Buddhism was limited to a few localities; and in the 16th, Abulfazl, the minister of Akbar, being anxious to explore the characteristics of all religions, could find no one to assist him in his enquiries respecting Buddhism.

seated upon the most honourable of the celestial thrones may one day writhe amidst the agonies of a place of torment; and the worm that we crush under our feet may, in the course of ages, become a supreme Buddha."[1] It was also held that liberation from this terrible necessity of repeated births was the grand aim of all religions. Buddhism, in like manner, recognised the wretchedness of individual being, and fell in with the prevailing tendency to quietude, to mortification of the flesh, to abstract and ecstatic contemplation.

Assails the Védas and the established religion.

In many other points, where it diverged entirely from the old religion, it was following, consciously or unconsciously, the path marked out by Kapila, and trodden by his disciples. The founder of the Sánkhya philosophy had taught that Brahmá himself was only at the head of the elemental creation, and, as such, was finite, mortal, subject to contingencies like pain and ignominy. The supreme authority of the Védas might accordingly be questioned; their tenets

[1] Hardy, *Manual of Budhism*, p. 36. Saint-Hilaire, *Du Bouddhisme*, p. 183, seems of opinion that in the possible extent to which transmigration may be carried, Buddhism is even more exacting than Bráhmanism. According to the Buddhist no increase is possible in the number of personal spirits, so that there is a constant tendency to the depopulation of the world of appearance (Sansára); and in the long run every such spirit will pass into the Buddha-world, will become a Bódhisatwa, and finally reach *nirvána*. 'Alles, was da lebt und athmet, soll und muss Buddha werden:' Schott, p. 3; cf. p. 10. Before the final step is taken by which the Bódhisatwa becomes a perfect Buddha, he may undergo repeated births either into the world of dévas or of men. In this case he is represented as a saviour, whose mission is to rouse men from their slumbers, and incite them by his own example to a course of self-renunciation and philosophy. A thousand of these Bódhisatwas appear in the world of men during each great Kalpa (Mahákalpa); all are born in the north of India. That period of the world in which we live has already beheld four of these Bódhisatwas. The last was Śákya-muni, whose successor is expected at the end of 5000 years. *Ibid.* p. 13.

CHAP. I.

might be all subordinated to other forms of knowledge. Gautama intensified this feeling, and completed the Sánkhya innovation by rejecting the Védas altogether. As the 'enlightened' one, and as believing in the infinite capacity of his own intellect, he placed his tripod far above[1] the throne of beings like Brahmá, or Mahéswara; he was himself the 'lord and teacher,' not of one section of the universe, but of all 'the three worlds.'

Buddhist doctrine of sin.

Another blow inflicted by him on the old religion, and especially on the power of the Bráhmanical order, was the absolute rejection of animal sacrifice. Some indication of a like repugnance is traceable to early times,[2] and in the creed of Kapila, the shedding of blood was openly denounced as one example of 'impurity.'[3] But in Buddhism the rejection rests on deeper and more subtle grounds. The Buddhist has no consciousness of guilt, because he utterly denies the freedom of the creature. Sin is in his view a necessary thing: it is a cosmical and not a personal evil: its vitiation is inherent in the world of matter, and inseparable from all forms of transient being. If the Buddhist sins, the punishment which nature has attached to his demerit will inevitably take effect: the law *must* have its course. He therefore manifests no wish for reconcilement: he has no

[1] This affinity between Kapila and Gautama is pointed out in Lassen, I. 831. In the Sing'halese Buddhism of the present day, which is largely intermixed with Bráhmanical elements, the Mahá-Brahmá is notwithstanding only the ruler of a 'bráhma-lóka': Hardy, p. 41. This idea of the gods being made subject to the will of a mortal by his performance of superhuman austerities was not entirely new in Hindústán.

[2] See Roth, *Nirukta*, 'Einl.' p. xxxiii.

[3] See above, p. 213, n. 2.

idea of mediation, of satisfaction, of propitiation.[1] On the other hand, a keener insight into all the possible consequences of the Hindú doctrine of transmigration would naturally serve to deepen his repugnance to traditionary usages involving the destruction of animal life:[2] from both which causes it results that Buddhism stands conspicuous in the midst of heathendom as a religion without sacrificial cultus. The very name of sacrifice (*yajna*) has been discarded, and the simple worship of the Buddhists almost universally restricted to the offering up of prayers and flowers and perfumes, in memory of their founder. It is true that orders of religious teachers,[3] corresponding to the Christian clergy, were instituted as early as the reign of Aśoka; but excepting in the Lama-hierarchy of Tibet, which may hereafter call[4] for more particular notice, Buddhist priests perform no functions that are strictly sacerdotal; they are rather confraternities of mendicants, who act as patterns of the sternest form of self-renunciation, or as mere teachers of the populace.

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1 Cf. Mr. Thomson's *Bampton Lectures*, pp. 44, 45. In speaking of Sing'halese Buddhism at the present day, Sir E. Tennent observes that 'neither in heaven nor on earth can man (according to the Buddhist doctors) escape from the consequences of his acts; that morals are in their essence productive causes, without the aid or intervention of any higher authority; and hence forgiveness and atonement are ideas utterly unknown.'

2 'The Báudha religionists carry their respect for animal life much further than the Bramins: their priests do not eat after noon, nor drink after dark, for fear of swallowing minute insects; and they carry a brush on all occasions, with which they carefully sweep every place before they sit down, lest they should inadvertently crush any living creature.' Elphinstone, p. 107. Still, at the present day, as the same writer adds in a note, 'the laity eat animal food without restraint; even the priests may eat it, if no animal is killed on their account.'

3 Burnouf, *Hist. du Bouddhisme*, pp. 293 sq.; Wuttke, II. 557.

4 See *Appendix* II.

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Buddhist view of the caste-system.

It was contended in the class-rooms of the Sánkhya philosophy that human spirits, in whatever bodies they may dwell, are all intrinsically equal.[1] Gautama was also a believer in this doctrine, and went so far as to reduce it into practice. He could not shut his eyes, indeed, to the existence of the caste-system; and, accepting it as an established fact, attributed distinctions in the various orders of society to differences of conduct in a former life: but notwithstanding such admission, men of every caste were equally invited to his lectures, and arranged according to their age and worth; and, as he taught that all, whatever be their natural gifts or opportunities or condition, are entitled to the same spiritual advantages, and have access to the means of liberation, he prepared his hearers for the ultimate dissolution of the caste-system,[2] and the overthrow of Bráhmanism. Indeed the universe itself, and not the narrow confines of the Áryan tribes, was chosen as the theatre on which the new religion sought to operate: the Buddha, though he taught in northern Hindústán, was anxious to deliver and enlighten all things.

Was Buddhism atheistic?

(1) But besides these general principles, there were, in Buddhism, other characteristics which deserve particular consideration. Some of them may be regarded as speculative, or metaphysical; the rest as practical, or moral. In Kapila's system, we already noticed, the idea of God was never prominent: it was in danger of evaporating altogether in the midst of

[1] 'The Bráhman is born of a woman, so is the chaṇḍála' (outcaste). 'My law is a law of grace for all.' 'My doctrine is like the sky. There is room for all without exception—men, women, boys, girls, poor and rich.'

[2] It is retained, however, in Ceylon: Hardy, pp. 71, 78.

philosophical refinements. But Gautama went further still: the system which he founded is more openly atheistic. It not only disregarded, but denied the one eternal God, the Maker and the Ruler of all other forms of being. Whatever symptoms of intelligence and design, whatever powers of organisation it might recognise, they all were held to be inherent properties of matter. The world and all things in it rise into existence, are transformed, and ultimately vanish in obedience to some natural order, some inscrutable necessity: they are like regular undulations of the ocean flowing one into another; they are links in some eternal chain of causes and effects. To Bráhmans God is everything; to Buddhists God is nothing. Bráhmanism, when fully and minutely analysed, is found to be all centre; Buddhism all circumference. The first contended, that because the abstract Brahma is one only and immutable, all things subject to mutation are unreal; they merely seem to be. The second argued, that because all things are now multiform and mutable, they cannot have a single and immutable basis. In the one, the spirit underlying every form of matter is an efflux of the Godhead; in the other, while the world appears to be undeified, the only God is not confessed. The Buddhist breaks entirely loose from the ideal pantheism of the Bráhman, but he finds no refuge in the sanctuary of truth; his creed is purely negative and nihilistic.[1] Excep-

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[1] The following statement of Professor Wilson entirely corroborates the inferences I had drawn respecting the atheistic character of primitive Buddhism: 'Belief in a supreme God, the Creator and Ruler of the universe, is unquestionably a modern graft upon the unqualified atheism of Śákya Muni: it is still of very limited recognition. In none of the standard authorities translated by M. Burnouf, or Mr. Gogerley, is there the slightest allusion to such a

CHAP. I. *Theistic sect in Nepál.*

tion[1] may perhaps be made in favour of one school or sect, the Buddhists of Nepál and western Tibet, who, owing to their close proximity to Bráhmanism, or other causes, seem to have inherited a loftier and more spiritual faith, transferring their idea of God to one supreme Intelligence, whom they designate Ádi-Buddha:[2] but of Buddhism, as it stands depicted in the oldest class of monuments, we need not hesitate to affirm, that no single trace survives[3] in it of a

First Cause, the existence of whom is incompatible with the fundamental Buddhist dogma of the eternity of all existence. The doctrine of an Ádi-Buddha, a first Buddha, in the character of a supreme Creator, which has found its way into Nepál, and perhaps into western Tibet, is entirely local, as is that of the Dhyáni Buddhas, and the Bódhisatwas, their sons and agents in creation, as described by Mr. Hodgson. They are not recognised in the Buddhist mythology of any other people, and have no doubt been borrowed from the Hindús. There can be *no First* Buddha, for it is of the essence of the system that Buddhas are of progressive development: any one may become a Buddha by passing through a series of existences in the practice of virtue and benevolence, and there have been accordingly an infinitude of Buddhas in all ages and in all regions.' *Journal of As. Soc.* (1856), XVI. 255, 256. Weber (*Indische Skizzen*, Berlin, 1857, p. 67, *note*) takes substantially the same view.

[1] See Elphinstone, pp. 104, 105. Wuttke, following Burnouf, is, however, of opinion that the sect is comparatively modern (II. 529), especially as no trace of it is found in China, and as the nearest approximation to such theism in the speculative philosophy of the Buddhists (see Hodgson, in *Asiat. Researches*, XVI. 435 sq.) does not go beyond the Sánkhya doctrine of a spiritual essence.

[2] Cunningham (*Bhilsa Topes*, p. 39) seems to be of opinion that the earliest race of Buddhists differed most materially from the Sánkyas, and instead of holding the eternity of matter, contended that everything was the creation of the self-existent Ádi-Buddha, who willed it, and it was.

[3] 'In den Sutra und den wichtigsten andern Religionsschriften ist keine Spur eines höchsten weltbildenden Wesens:' Wuttke, II. 527. In this verdict concur Burnouf, Schmidt (as there cited, p. 529); Tennent (*Christianity in Ceylon*, p. 208, *note*); Hardy, *Manual of Budhism*, p. 399; Saint-Hilaire, *Du Bouddhisme*, p. 245. It should, however, be stated on the other side, that Col. Sykes (*Journal of Asiat. Soc.* VI. 377) endeavours to screen the Buddhists from the charge of atheism. His chief appeal is to a curious hymn, composed, as many think, by Gautama himself, at the moment when he became Buddha. It is printed, with three versions somewhat differing, in Mr. Hardy's *Manual*, pp. 180, 181: but there

Supreme Being, either like the Óm of the Vaidic period, or the Brahma of the Laws of Manu. Buddhism even went so far as to reject the Sánkhya theory of an active material essence, on the ground that all such arguments are contradicted by the mutable phenomena of the universe. 'Beings are not created,' says a writing of high authority among the Buddhists, 'by one God, or lord (*íśwara*), neither by one spirit (*purusha*), neither by matter (*pradhána*). If there were indeed a single cause of all things, as God, or spirit, or matter, then, by the simple fact of the existence of this cause, must the world at once have been created in its entirety, since a cause cannot exist without producing its due effect. But all things may be seen to come into the world, according to a law of succession, some issuing from the parent-womb, others from the germ. It must accordingly

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Buddhist doctrine of causation.

is nothing in it to militate against the view here adopted. It merely states that Gautama had found the 'artificer' (*Gehakáraka* = 'the House-builder') of the human frame, *i. e.* the key explaining the true doctrine of existence, and had thus secured exemption from all future wanderings. Major Cunningham (*Bhilsa Topes*, p. 36, and elsewhere) maintains that the *primitive* Buddhism was 'theistic,' in the sense that Gautama admitted the bare existence of a Supreme Being, but denied His providence. On the contrary, Schott, a very great authority, in his treatise *Über den Buddhaismus in Hochasien und in China* (Berlin 1846) declares: 'Die ursprüngliche, ungefälschte Buddha-Lehre weiss von Keiner ewigen Individualität, und somit verdankt auch das Weltgebäude keiner solchen sein Dasein' (p. 2). Speaking of the present state of Buddhism in China, Gutzlaff declares: 'It is heresy to talk of a causation, or a primary Author, for all things have existed since numberless Kalpas, and by their natural tendency return to annihilation.' *Journ. of As. Soc.* XVI. 80. 'It is a grand machinery, without an intellectual propelling power:' *Ibid.* p. 81. The most ancient and genuine school of Buddhism is that of the Swabhávikas, whose doctrine is thus summarily indicated in a Buddhist Páli book:' 'Whence come existing things? from their own nature,—*swabhávát*. Where do they go to after life? into other forms, through the same inherent tendency. How do they escape from that tendency? Where do they finally go? into vacuity,—*sunyatá*.' Wilson, in *Journ. of As. Soc.* XVI. 256.

CHAP. I. be concluded that there is a series of causes, and that God is not the single cause."[1]

To elucidate this doctrine of causation was indeed one principal object in the teaching of 'the sons of Śâkya.' They believed that theoretically the first approach to liberation involves a knowledge of the way in which all life has been produced. Starting, therefore, with the old hypothesis, that the cycles of the universe had no beginning, individual life, with all its ills and accidents, its faculties of mind and body, is traceable backwards through twelve stages[2] to the first term in the circle of generation, which is 'ignorance' (*avidyâ*), and consists in mistaking for durable that which is but evanescent and precarious; or, in other words, assigning to the universe a reality which it does not actually possess. For Buddhism, in this matter, went beyond the elder system; it regarded all 'the three worlds' as 'empty,'[3] as no better than a shadowy and illusive phantom. Having lost all faith in God the Author of the universe, the Buddhist was propelled to the conclusion, that the sensible forms around him ought not to exist: they had no right to be, and therefore since they are, they must be evil; and the object was accordingly to liberate all sentient creatures from their bondage to the non-

Twelve-fold chain of causes.

[1] Quoted from the *Yasomitra*, in Burnouf, p. 572.

[2] See Saint-Hilaire, pp. 188—190. This 'ignorance' is an abstract quality producing another abstract quality, merit and demerit, *karma;* which *karma* gives birth to a third abstraction, consciousness; and this being endowed with physical power, produces body and mind, and so on: Hardy, p. 392. Yet the Buddhist does not profess to enlighten us either respecting the origin of *avidyâ*, or the manner in which *karma* operates.

[3] Schmidt has pointed out (*Mémoires de l'Académie de Saint Pétersbourg*, I. 98 sq.) that the two main principles of Buddhism are (1) that the three worlds are empty, and (2) that there is no difference between being and non-being.

existent. So entirely was the mind of Gautama possessed by this idea, that of the elementary lessons which he taught men in conjunction with his doctrine of the twelve-fold chain of causes, nearly all had reference to the rise and remedy of human suffering. The universality of that suffering, its birth from passion and desire, the possibility of escaping from it, and the method of escape, these constitute the 'four grand verities'[1] impressed in early youth upon the memory of Buddhists. CHAP. I. *'Four grand verities.'*

And if the special character of this deliverance be investigated, we find it summed up in the word *nirvána*, 'extinction,' 'blowing out.' Such was the supreme felicity of the Buddha: such the goal to which he ever pointed the aspirations of his followers. It was formerly disputed whether more is meant by the expression *nirvána* than 'eternal quietude,' 'unbroken sleep,' 'impenetrable apathy': but the oldest literature of Buddhism will scarcely suffer us to doubt that Gautama intended by it nothing short of absolute 'annihilation,'[2] the destruction of all elements which constitute existence.[3] *'Nirvána.'*

[1] Saint-Hilaire, p. 127.

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 195 sq.; Burnouf, *Hist. du Bouddhisme*, p. 589: Wuttke, II. 570. The last writer (p. 571) cites the following passage from a Mongolian catechism: 'Der Sansára [*i. e.* the world of appearance] ist seiner Wesenheit nach *leer*, seiner Form nach trügerisch, einen Wirkungen nach verderblich: Nirvána ist auch seiner Wesenheit nach *leer*, aber er vernichtet jede Täuschung und befreit von allem Uebel.' Prof. Wilson (*Journ. of As. Soc.* XVI. 256, 257) adopts the same view as that which I have stated in the text. Life is the cause of evil, from which there is no escape but by ceasing to be. In Buddhism there is no recipient for the liberated soul.

[3] *Nirvána* is sometimes used to signify the *Buddha-world*, the world inhabited by Bódhisatwas (candidates for Buddhaship); but the more abstract meaning is the true one. 'In Nirwána aber fliesst alles befreite Geistige zu einer absoluten Monas zusammen; aus den unzähligen Buddha's wird unpersönliches Buddha:' Schott, p. 10. *Nirvána* is aptly defined as 'ein von allem Etwas ewig be-

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Neither Bráhmanism nor Buddhism could feel happy in the present world: to both it was a prison-house, a place of torture and of ignominy. But the gulf between the two rival systems was in this respect immeasurable. Bráhmanism contended that true being does exist beyond the world of phenomena (Sansára); Buddhism, that being is the same in all the 'three worlds,' but nowhere is possessed of more than the appearance of reality. The Bráhman, writhing under the calamities of life, was anxious to emancipate himself as soon as possible from the world of phantoms, that he might revert to his original oneness with divinity: the Buddhist, driven to desperation by witnessing the same calamities, was no less anxious to escape, but was content if he could ultimately pass beyond the verge of that enchanted circle which was fatal to his peace, and so attain to non-existence. Both alike gave utterance to the grief which preyed upon their inmost being: but the Buddhist sorrowed as the man who has no hope; and his philosophy is therefore the philosophy of despair.

Buddhist ethics.

(2) But while we charge the creed of Gautama with atheism and nihilism, we must acknowledge that it rose in one respect superior to all other heathen systems,—in the loftier tone of its morality. It was a *practical*, and not a speculative philosophy,

freites Nichts:' p. 11. 'Existence is a tree: the merit or demerit of the actions of men is the fruit of that tree and the seed of future trees; death is the withering away of the old tree from which the others have sprung; wisdom and virtue take away the germinating faculty, so that when the tree dies there is no reproduction. This is Nirvána.' From the *Brahma-jála*, a *Páli Sútra*, where Śákya-muni is made to confute sixty-two Bráhmanical heresies: Wilson, as above, p. 257.

concerning itself not with God and the invisible, but with the charities and duties of the present life. Here indeed we find the secret of its mightiness, the key to its majestic progress in the whole of eastern Asia. The grand picture of a royal youth, abandoning his home and honours to become the gentle, apt, and sympathetic teacher of the people, was alone sufficient to evoke a class of sentiments forgotten by the old religions. And in course of time fresh arguments were found to strengthen the devotion which this picture of philanthropy excited. 'A great part of the respect paid to Gótama Budha arises from the supposition that he voluntarily endured, throughout myriads of ages, and in numberless births, the most severe deprivations and afflictions, that he might thereby gain the power to free sentient beings from the misery to which they are exposed under every possible form of existence. It is thought that myriads of ages previous to his reception of the Budhaship, he might have become a *rahat* [one who is entirely rescued from all evil desire], and therefore ceased to exist; but that of his own free-will he forewent the privilege, and threw himself into the stream of successive existence, for the benefit of the three worlds."[1] Nor was the founder of Buddhism merely anxious to exhibit his commiseration for the calamities of other men. He laid unwonted stress on

[1] Hardy, *Manual of Budhism*, p. 98: cf. Prof. Max Müller, in Mr. Thomson's *Bampton Lectures*, p. 36. One of the reflections ascribed to the youthful Gautama in a Tibetan biography is to the same effect (in Saint-Hilaire, p. 39): 'En faisant voir la clarté de la loi aux créatures obscurcies par les ténèbres d'une ignorance profonde, je leur donnerai l'œil qui voit clairement les choses; je leur donnerai le beau rayon de la pure sagesse, l'œil de la loi, sans tache et sans corruption.'

CHAP. I. social and domestic duties, while the Bráhmans, in their teaching, rather aimed at the production of ceremonial punctuality.[1]

Precepts and prohibitions.

Believing that, in spite of some paramount necessity, the individual has the power of punishing himself by an illicit course of action, every Buddhist, whether lay or cleric, was enjoined[2] to kill no living thing, to be honest in his dealings, to indulge no sensual appetites, to abstain from lying, and intoxicating liquors; while a further series of more rigorous injunctions was provided for the guidance of the monks, the celibates, the devotees.[3] In carrying out these regulations it is easy to perceive that the most exemplary Buddhists had no true idea of the distinctive properties of soul and body, and of their reciprocal relations. On the one side, they identified intelligence with sensibility:[4] on the other, they regarded the external organs as the only seat of evil and the single enemy of mankind. The body was even treated by them as consubstantial with brute matter; and to curb its wayward passions, to seal up the various inlets of temptation, to mortify and extirpate the sensual appetites, and by *dhyána*, 'contemplation,' rivet the desires exclusively upon the ultimate destination of the human subject, was the

Self-denial and austerities.

[1] See the drama called *Mrichchhakati*, which is said to represent Buddhist institutions with singular fidelity.

[2] The list of commandments varies somewhat in different writings: see Stuhr, I. 180, Prichard, IV. 124. Upham (*Historical and sacred Books of Ceylon*, III. 12, 158; cf. pp. 162, 163) gives a list, ten in number, more closely resembling the second table of the Decalogue.

[3] The Bhikshus and Bhikshunís are all separated from the world, and engage to lead a life of self-denial, celibacy and mendicancy, and to estrange themselves from all domestic and social obligations. Prof. Wilson (*Journ. of As. Soc.* XVI. 255) animadverts on the rigour and inhumanity of these regulations.

[4] See Saint-Hilaire, p. 226.

highest aim of ethical philosophy. The conviction of present wretchedness, which throws a shade of melancholy over the whole life of the Buddhist devotee and furnishes a clue to most of his speculations, is thus deepened by a course of self-inflicted torture. So far indeed was he bent on carrying his renunciation of the sensible world and its enjoyments, that he stigmatised his Bráhman rival as a man who lived in bondage to the present and the visible.[1] CHAP. I.

Sympathy with other sufferers.

Nor was passive self-control the only point to which importance was attached in Buddhist ethics. Man was there exhorted to promote his extrication from the bonds of individuality by sharing the calamities of others: he was to facilitate his own escape by making others rise superior to the fatal law of transmigration. It is probable that here and there a Buddhist might be influenced by the same generous self-devotion which had characterised the framer of his creed: but generally his eye was fastened on the prospect of remuneration; he believed that by assisting others he should be smoothing his own pathway to *nirvána*. Merit, with demerit the correlative, is the power by which, according to Buddhism, the destiny of all sentient beings is controlled;[2] and

[1] Stuhr, I. 187. 'Chose étrange,' says M. Pavie, referring to some moral maxims of the Buddhists, 'ceux qui méditent sur ces belles pages, au lieu de conclure qu'il y a une autre vie où l'âme humaine doit trouver la satisfaction de ses immenses désirs, se retirent dans une négation désespérée. Ils dédaignent tous les biens de la vie comme une illusion, comme un leurre qui séduit l'esprit et l'entraîne dans le tourbillon des naissances à venir. Mieux vaut pour eux cesser d'être, s'abîmer dans un incompréhensible néant: c'est donc l'art de mourir une fois pour toutes, que le novice vient étudier dans le monastère:' *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1854, Tome v. p. 133.

[2] Hardy, p. 445. *Karma* is properly 'that which is to be done.'

CHAP. I. when this principle was fully apprehended the acquisition of a stock of merits became the great concern of life: religion was converted into a regular system of profits and losses.[1]

General mildness of the Buddhist.

Still we must not overlook the emphasis which Buddhism uniformly placed upon a class of gentle and retiring virtues, which were well-nigh banished from the rest of heathendom,—meekness, resignation, equanimity under suffering, forgiveness of injuries. Much as these are found to differ from the corresponding virtues of the Christian, and symptomatic as they often are of womanly, instead of manly and heroic qualities, they could scarcely fail to benefit a multitude of savage tribes to which they were propounded. For example, when the Buddhist finds himself assailed by calumny or open violence, he restrains his animosity by reflecting that the blow has been necessitated by misdemeanors committed in some previous existence. He is thankful that no heavier penance has fallen to his lot; and even at the last extremity, when death itself must be confronted, he can welcome it as the appointed means of liberation from 'this unclean body."[2]

Why his system was comparatively fruitless.

Truth, however, calls for the addition, that fair and lovely as might be the outward forms of Buddhism, its inherent principles were such as made it well-nigh powerless in the training of society, and therefore it has left the countries which it overran the prey of superstition and of demon-worship, of political misrule and spiritual lethargy. Confessing no supreme

[1] *Ibid.* p. 507, where reference is made to the Chinese practice of keeping a debtor and creditor account of the acts of each day, and transferring the balance from one year to another: see also Saint-Hilaire, pp. 215 sq.

[2] Wuttke, II. 579.

God, who is at once the Legislator and the Judge, its moral code was ultimately void of all authority. Denying also the true dignity and freedom of the human agent, it invested moral sentiments and relations with a kind of physical outsidedness; they were all parts of a great system with which the fortunes of the Buddhist, why he knew not, were mechanically connected. He spoke indeed of 'laws,' but these were only common rules of action, according to which all things are found to happen:[1] vice had no intrinsic hideousness, and virtue was another name for calculating prudence; while love itself was in the creed of Buddhism little more than animal sympathy, or the condolence of one sufferer with his fellow. Buddhism also could discourse of 'duty'; but such duty, as it had no object and no standard, was devoid of moral motive: it shrank into a lifeless acquiescence in some stern necessity, a blind submission to some iron law. The Buddhist's principle of action was 'I must'; he could not say 'I ought.'

c. The Eclectic School of India.

Hindú asceticism.

To understand the origin of this eclectic school we must remember that, in addition to the systems of philosophy already noticed, there had been from early times a strong and passionate bias in favour of asceticism.[2] Partly owing to the climate, which

[1] See Mr. R. A. Thompson's *Christian Theism*, I. 187 sq. on the ethics of Spinosa.

[2] See Wuttke, II. 362 sq. The old Brâhmanical ascetic was first known as *Śramaña* (cf. the Σαρμᾶναι of Megasthenes); but after the time of Aśoka, the word seems to have been exclusively assigned to the Buddhist devotees (Lassen, II. 449, 700, n. 3). Cf., however, Wilson, in *Journ. of As. Soc.* XVI. 230. It still exists in the Páli form *Samana*, and is sometimes

CHAP. I. induced inertness and disposed to contemplation, man had at the close of the Vaidic age begun to muse profoundly on the paradoxes of the world around him. He sighed for peace and unity, and everything that thwarted this desire and made him conscious of his isolation and estrangement from the primal source of being, he was anxious to repudiate and uproot. He also mused upon the conflicts which he felt among the moral elements of his nature, and ere long arrived at the conclusion that the seat of all disorder is the region of the senses. By indulging these he was persuaded that the soul is lured from the pursuit of spiritual and heavenly things, and therefore drew up special rules of discipline by which the downward tendency might be corrected and reversed. By 'exercise and dispassion,' by 'asceticism and mortification,' the mind was thought to be capable of reaching a state of absolute calm in which one single object may be contemplated to the exclusion of all others. This object was at first to be the Lord (*íswara*): 'but as the practised swimmer parts with his last cork or bladder, so the soul of the ascetic must in due course part with every object, and at length meditate without an object at all.'[2] His principles, as wrought into a system, constitute the *Yoga school* of Hindú philosophy, in which the *yogin*, or devotee, aspires to perfect union ('yoking') with the Divine Being.

used by the Chinese Buddhists as equivalent to 'priest,' but must not in that connexion be confounded with the *shaman* of demon-worship. See Schott, p. 18, n. 1, who points out that the word *saman* = shaman is Tungusic. Weber on the contrary (*Indische Skizzen*, p. 66, Berlin, 1857) thinks that the *shaman* of the devil-worshippers was a corruption of *śramaña;* and so Caldwell, *Grammar of the Drávidian Languages*, p. 519, *note*, Lond. 1856.

[2] See *Aphorisms of the Yoga*, Bk. I. §§ 17, 18, ed. Ballantyne.

CHAP. I.

The object of the Bhagavad-Gítá.

At last, perhaps when many centuries[1] had been allowed for the development of these tendencies, there rose in northern Hindústán a poet and philosopher, who, while faithful to the main positions of the ancient Bráhman, sought to reconcile his metaphysical tenets with the speculations of the Sánkhya school; and while confessing the advantages to be derived from the contemplative mode of life, contended that principles of self-renunciation were reconcileable with devotion to all active duties. This writer was himself a Bráhman and a Vaishñava, *i. e.* a member of the sect which had invested Vishñu[2] with the attributes of the Supreme Being, and which worshipped him in preference to the rival Śiva. The work which he composed, the Bhagavad-Gítá,[3] was dexterously inlaid by him in one of the great literary monuments of his forefathers, where 'it reads like a noble fragment of Empedocles or Lucretius introduced into the midst of an Homeric epic.'[4] The later

[1] It is now generally conceded that the date of the Bhagavad-Gítá is post-Christian. Even Lassen, who contends for the antiquity of Krishña-worship, places this poem in a later period of Hindú history, 'in welcher die Vishnuiten in Secten zerfielen und ihre Religionslehre mit philosophischen Lehren in Einklang zu bringen versuchten:' II. 494. Mr. J. C. Thomson, its recent editor and translator (Hertford, 1855), is disposed to place it between 100 B.C. and 300 A.D.

[2] See, for instance, ch. XVIII. (p. 121 of Mr. Thomson's translation), where Arjuna is charged by his divine instructor not to reveal his knowledge to misbelievers or revilers of Krishña, the incarnate form of Vishñu.

[3] This poem is, for the most part, a colloquy between Arjuna and Krishña. Arjuna is one of the sons of Páñdu, and after being in banishment for years, is making a grand effort to dethrone his uncle and cousin by whom he had been iniquitously expelled. His sufferings moved the pity of Vishñu (Krishña), who had become his bosom-friend, his councillor and charioteer. When the dialogue opens, the two hostile armies are drawn up in battle-array, but Arjuna recoils from the encounter on reflecting that it must lead to the slaughter of his near relations. The object of Krishña is to overrule this feeling.

[4] *Quarterly Review*, Vol. XLV. pp. 6, 7.

CHAP. I. *The theology.*

portions of it are chiefly occupied with philosophical theories which were already glanced at in our survey of the Sánkhya system; and indeed the only novel feature of speculative value is the effort made to harmonise the varying elements of that system by supposing the material and spiritual essences to be alike eternal, 'by uniting them in one Supreme Being, and thus making nature, or the material essence, a portion of the great eternal Deity.'[1] Here indeed the teaching of the Bhagavad-Gítá seems to have approximated to the theism of revealed religion;[2] but a closer survey will convince us that the two ideas are really incompatible. For since matter in

[1] See Mr. Thomson's 'Introd.' pp. xcv. xcvi.

[2] The following extract from a rapturous prayer of Arjuna, on discovering the real greatness and supreme divinity of his companion, should be cited here, because it has few parallels in the whole area of Hindú literature: 'The universe, O Krishña! is justly delighted with thy glory, and devoted to thee. The Rákshasas [evil spirits] flee, affrighted, to the divers quarters of heaven, and all the multitudes of the Siddhas [demi-gods] salute thee. And, indeed, why should they not adore thee, O great one! thee, the first creator, more important even than Brahmá himself? O infinite king of gods! habitation of the universe! thou art the one indivisible, the existing and not existing [spirit and matter], that which is supreme. Thou art the first of the gods, the most ancient person. Thou art the supreme receptacle of this universe. Thou knowest all, and mayest be known, and art the supreme mansion. By thee is this universe caused to emanate, O thou of endless forms. . . . .Thou All! Of infinite power and immense might, thou comprehendest all; therefore thou art All. As I took thee merely for a friend, I beseech thee without measure to pardon whatever I may, in ignorance of this thy greatness, have said from negligence or affection, such as, O Krishña! O son of Yadu! O friend! and everything in which I may have treated thee in a joking manner, in recreation, repose, sitting, or meals, whether in private, or in the presence of these, eternal One! Thou art the father of the animate and inanimate world.' ch. XI. (transl. pp. 79, 80). Krishña had already (ch. VII. pp. 51 sq.) prepared his companion for this outburst of adoration, by declaring, 'I am the cause of the production and dissolution of the whole universe. There exists no other thing superior to me. . . .On me is all the universe suspended, as numbers of pearls on a string;' adding also, that he was the mystic syllable *Om* in all the Védas.

the Hindú system remains an independent substance, coessential with divinity, or since God is there supposed to fashion all things by changing Himself into the material universe, His own supremacy is so far questioned and invaded; while by attributing to every individual a portion of the Supreme Being, which, according to that later system, exists in him together with his own individual soul, each form of animated nature is said to have within it particles of divinity; and on this ground polytheism, hero-worship, and even animal-worship, are reasserted and defended.[1]

The ethical system.

It is, however, to the ethical portions[2] of the poem that I draw attention more particularly, as enabling us to trace the highest flight of philosophical Hindúism, in its efforts to determine the right course of human conduct.

Reassertion of the law of caste.

(1) A primary object of the writer was to vindicate the institution of caste, which had been sorely shaken by the Buddhist revolutions, and perhaps we may infer impugned by members of the Kshatriya-class, who were beginning to exceed their own province. So absolute and so inviolable, it is taught, are duties which the law of caste imposes, that these transcend and overpower all earthly considerations. For example, it was the intention of the poet to establish that love of kindred, though a virtue in itself, must be sacrificed whenever it is generating in the warrior's breast a feeling of compassion for his enemies. His province is to fight, and fight he must on all occasions, and at any cost whatever. 'It is

[1] Cf. 'Introd.' as before, p. cii. xviii.
[2] Ch. i.—ch. vi., ch. xii. ch.

CHAP. I. better to do one's own duty, even though it be devoid of excellence, than to perform another's duty well.'[1]

New theory of genuine devotion.

(2) The second object is to modify the Yoga-doctrines in such a manner that devout persons may feel under no pressing obligation to consume their lives in violent austerities and maceration of the body. The author does not, it is true, deny the efficacy and numerous excellences of that older system; but he argues[2] that when transformed into the *Karma-Yoga*, by adapting principles of renunciation (*sannyâsa*) to all the duties of common-life, it is still worthier of acceptance, and of greater efficacy in forwarding the process of emancipation. In the earlier system men's surrender of the world was outward, local, physical; in the later it was to become more inward, spiritual, and complete. The one, persuaded that evil always enters through the inlet of the senses, laboured to impair and so destroy the sinful medium; the other, acquiescing in this doctrine as to the peculiar province of temptation, urged the duty of subjugating the heart in such a manner that sensual impressions were disarmed and made inoperative. In other words, the way to overcome the world, was not to leave it, and seek out asylums in the jungle, but to extirpate all wishes and affections that produced attachment to it. Action was the proper element in which the devotee should undergo his training; yet action was at last to be entirely free from passion or emotion, and entirely irrespective of all consequences.

[1] See p. 26, and, more fully, pp. 118 sq. In pp. 66, 67, there is a passage which intimates that members of the vaiśya-class had now fallen, rather than risen in the scale of religious privileges, for they are ranked with 'women and Śûdras.'

[2] 'Introd.' as before, p. cviii.

'Let the motive for action be always in the action itself, never in its reward."[1] 'He into whom all desires enter in the same manner as rivers enter the ocean, which is [always] full, yet does not move its bed, can obtain tranquillity; but not he who loves desires."[2] The author did not, it is true, deny that adequate reward is always given to acts of ritual worship. On the contrary, he maintained that whenever actions are performed with interested motives they involve[3] the agent in a series of necessary bonds or consequences (*karma-bandha*); sometimes purchasing admission for him to the heaven of Indra; sometimes, where he is the victim of base fear, and sacrifices to the demons, entailing on him an abode in less exalted spheres of being. Yet the one reward, and that which to the Hindú is alone desirable, was allotted to a different class of devotees. Where true devotion, action without passion, filled the spirit of the worshipper, he soared directly upwards to his ultimate condition. Having learned to concentrate his thoughts entirely on the Supreme Being, he obtained a perfect mastery over his whole nature: he subdued not only the irregular appetites, but every movement of the natural affections; he was 'of the same mind to friends, acquaintances, and enemies, to the indifferent and the neutral, to aliens and relatives, to the good and bad."[4] As 'candles placed in shelter from the wind do not flicker,' so this perfect devotee

CHAP. I.

[1] Ch. II. (p. 16). In the previous page there is a remarkable passage reflecting on those who were misled by 'flowery' sentences to assign the chief importance to the letter of precepts quoted from the Védas.

[2] Ch. III. (p. 19).

[3] Ch. IV. (pp. 31 sq.)

[4] Ch. VI. (p. 44).

CHAP. I. has been translated far above the sphere of earthly perturbations: he is utterly unmanned.

Subsequent inertness of the Hindú mind.

Such may be regarded as the last development of Hindú philosophy; for the monuments of the succeeding, or Puranic period, notwithstanding all the rich profusion of mythological novelties, give few if any indications of mental progress. Here and there the surface of religious thought may have been rippled, for a while, by the attempts of earnest individuals[1] to remodel the ancestral creed and lead men back to primitive institutions. The Kurán also, borne along the bloody stream of Arab conquest, was for ages dominant in various parts of India, but infused no higher life into the native population. Excepting the religious movements headed by Nanuk in the fifteenth century, and by Akbar in the sixteenth, both advancing from eclectic principles in the direction of a purer form of deism, the historian of Hindú philosophy will have little to record of universal interest till the master-minds of the Peninsula shall start from their lethargic slumber, and shall learn to vibrate once again beneath the potent touch of Christianity.

[1] One of the most remarkable was the learned Bráhman, Rammohun-Roy, who laboured in the first quarter of the present century to expound the Védánta philosophy among his fellowcountrymen, with the hope of establishing a more general belief in one only God. Since his death a society, calling itself *Tatwa-bodhini Sabhá* ('Truth-expounding Society'), and meditating the same object, has continued to exist at Calcutta: see *Journal of the As. Soc.* XIII. 210.

CHAPTER II.

Apparent Correspondencies between Hindúism and Revealed Religion.

. . . . 'So werden wir es unmöglich finden, in der Indischen Religion eine Quelle oder eine Rivalin in Beziehung auf die Grundidee des Christenthums zu finden.' DORNER.

Relations of Hindúism to Christianity.

Two inferences are commonly drawn by the opponents of Christianity from the remarkable series of phenomena exhibited in the foregoing chapter. It has been alleged (1) that those exalted products of man's theorising faculty will prove how very much of truth may be discovered without invoking the assistance of particular revelations; and that consequently we are justified in treating the Gospel as one of many signs of spiritual activity, as a further egress and embodiment of 'the religion of nature,' as a novel way of working out ideas and instincts latent in the breast of all the human species. Or else it is objected (2) that both Hindúism and Christianity are for the most part vestiges of some primeval and barbaric superstition, from which it is reserved for true philosophy and the doctors of the Absolute Religion to emancipate alike the churches and the world.

As my present object is chiefly historical, I shall

CHAP. II. say nothing of the contradictions involved in these two different pleas of modern scepticism. Both of them I hope to answer most effectually by ascertaining how far alleged resemblances between the Christian and heathen systems really extend, and then suggesting in each case what seems the obvious medium of communication or the natural ground of correspondence.

Some general observations, bearing both on this and on the following chapter, will be necessary by way of preface.

Theory of primeval prophecies.

1. It must be pleaded that the cogency of many arguments which unbelief has urged against the supernatural character of Christianity is due to indiscreet assertions of the Christian apologist. Exaggerating the amount of light possessed in primitive times by the adherents of revealed religion; exaggerating also the antiquity of many Gentile systems which were made almost coeval with the first dispersion of mankind, he frequently approached the study of such systems with a confident expectation of detecting in them fresh analogies to truths which have been only brought to light by the announcements of the Gospel. When, for instance, a new world of intellectual enterprise was opened through the cultivation of Sanskrit literature, it was presumed by numbers of our fellow-countrymen who led the way in those researches, that the harvest to be reaped in India would not only confirm the older portions of Mosaic history, but also rescue from oblivion many a clear and pointed prophecy of the Incarnation and the Cross. If man had always, from the infancy of time, been fully conscious of these central facts

of our religion, why not search for remnants of such knowledge and expressions of such consciousness in all parts of heathendom? That dim traditions of the Fall of man, that distant echoes of some promise of redemption do in fact survive wherever human steps have wandered, will be shewn hereafter when we come to *real* parallelisms between the Christian and other systems: but the sanguine expectations of mythologists were doomed to disappointment, when, assuming that the old deposit of traditionary knowledge had been well-nigh coextensive with the field of revelation, they attempted to translate familiar mythes of Hindústán into the language of the Old and New Testament. Nor did the evil consequences of the theory cease with its explosion. Works, in which it was developed, are still found to operate injuriously upon the cause of true religion, by supplying scoffs and cavils to that class of misbelievers who would fain reduce the Gospels to a level with the sacred books of India. 'Zeal,' says a thoughtful writer on the Hindú pantheon, 'sometimes has in its results the same effect as infidelity, and one cannot help lamenting that a superstructure requiring so little support should be encumbered by awkward buttresses, so ill applied, that they would, if it were possible, diminish the stability of the building that they were intended to uphold. Of this description were the zealous researches of some missionaries, who, in Brahmá and Saraswatí, easily found Abraham and Sarah; and the Christian Trinity is as readily discovered in the monstrous triad of the Hindús. Of this description also, I am disposed to think, are the attempts at bending so many of the

CHAP. II. events of Krishña's life to tally with those, real or typical, of Jesus Christ.'[1]

Theory of diabolic counterfeits.

2. There is another mode of contemplating such phenomena which deserves a passing notice, chiefly from the fact that it was sanctioned by those venerable writers, who first struggled, hand to hand, with pagans in defence of Christianity. It rests, however, on a vague presumption rather than on tangible and valid evidence. Its authors argue that heathendom, in regions where the light of genuine prophecy was quenched, had been occasionally misled by 'diabolic mimicries' of Christianity, projected by malignant demons, who, in order to preoccupy the spirit of their votaries and indispose men to accept the Gospel, coined a number of those base equivalents which still pass current in the Gentile world. Accordingly it is believed that, in addition to the series of primeval facts, which, under somewhat different versions, were preserved in most heathen countries, certain rites and dogmas, which are commonly held to be of Christian origin, had been already counterfeited and caricatured in far older creeds: and hence a living writer has not

[1] Moor, *Hindú Pantheon*, p. 200, Lond. 1810. In Maurice's *Hist. of Hindústán*, II. 225, Lond. 1824, and in Mr. Haslam's more recent work, *The Cross and the Serpent*, pp. 149 sq. Lond. 1849, the legend of Krishña is confidently regarded as a remnant of some primeval tradition concerning the future life of the Redeemer. The Jesuits were at first divided as to the wisdom of the ancient Chinese, but eventually agreed in attributing to them a knowledge of the True God, and connecting them with the patriarchs of the Holy Scripture. 'Der orden erklärte sich von nun an für die sogennante alte Weisheit der Chinesen, die sie aus irgend einer antediluvianischen Verbindung mit den Biblischen Erzvätern errettet hätten. Andere stiegen nun bis zur Sündfluth empor und meinten, Noa's kinder seyen die ersten Weisen des Landes gewesen; noch Andere wollten zwischen Jao, Noa oder gar Jehova eine ganz besondere Aehnlichkeit finden. *So leicht findet* man, was man sucht und wünscht.' Prof. Neumann, in Illgen's *Zeitschrift* (1837), Bund VII. pp. 13, 14.

scrupled to contend that 'no external resemblances to any part whatever of the catholic system form any kind of presumption against that system, seeing that such anticipations of *parts* of it are, upon this theory, to be expected.'[1]

Theory of natural coincidencies.

3. It was perhaps in the recoil from theories of this nature, overstrained and made incredible, that other writers have been since propelled into an opposite conclusion. In their eyes, the correspondencies between the heathen and Christian systems, where not purely casual and external, may be almost universally referred to some internal affinity, to principles inherent in the constitution of man, and stimulated by necessities of his moral nature; the grand merit of Christianity, so they think, consisting in the fact, that it has spoken with authority on the character and bearing of those fundamental principles, and taught men how to regulate the course of their development. But while granting, as I do, that such assumptions will account for several of the points in question, there are many other indications of affinity so minute and so specific, that we cannot fairly pass them over with this short and summary explanation. By so acting, the opponent of Christianity incurs the charge of sheltering his objections under words that may hereafter prove no more than empty generalities. In any case it were unreasonable to call for our assent to his hypothesis till further questions have been

[1] See Mr. Morris's *Essay towards the conversion of learned and philosophical Hindús*, pp. 201 sq. Lond. 1843, where the opinions of the Fathers on this subject are recited at length. In declining to accept the view there taken of heathen worship, I have no desire to call in question the great truth that evil spirits were concerned in instigating and appropriating such worship, and that the Gentiles, therefore, sacrificed δαιμονίοις, καὶ οὐ Θεῷ (1 Cor. x. 20).

CHAP. II. asked and answered. What is the amount of probability that *some outward channel of communication existed at, or prior to, the birth of Christ, between Hindú philosophers and the doctors of the western world?* And if so, is it further probable, from the character and circumstances of the age, that any interchange or fusion would take place between the various and conflicting doctrines then in course of circulation? These inquiries are, I think, deserving of more notice than they have commonly received from modern speculators: for exactly in proportion as the answer is affirmative will natural media be discovered for explaining some of the more close resemblances which I have undertaken to investigate.

External communication,

Now with reference to the former question, it is certain that a lively intercourse subsisted in the earliest age of Christianity between the western marts of Hindústán, and those of Persia and Egypt. Thoughtful minds were also actively employed in tracing the divergencies and points of contact in the different systems of philosophy, and in searching for some common ground on which they all could meet together. This eclectic tendency is manifest on one side in the schools of Alexandria, which, after it absorbed the commerce both of Tyre and Carthage, was the centre and emporium of all forms of philosophic speculation; and on the other side in many schools of India where the publication of a treatise, like the *Bhagavad-Gítá*, bears witness to the ruling wish for peace, for union, for amalgamation. We might, therefore, be prepared to find that in the traffic carried on between the east and west, regard was sometimes had to higher interests than those of

merchandise. But further it is argued to the satisfaction,[1] not to say delight, of adversaries of the Gospel, that many rampant heresies, by which the primitive Church was torn and weakened, had been generated in attempts to blend the truths of Christianity with notions borrowed from the heathen creeds of Hindústán and Persia. The riddle which the founders of the Gnostic sects were all struggling to interpret had reference to the origin of physical and moral evil;[2] and the various guesses which these sects propounded have betrayed, in almost every case, their eastern origin. If it be doubtful whether Buddhist emissaries, panting for fresh fields of action, penetrated through the towns and villages of Parthia, and even reached the shores of the Mediterranean, there is no lack of evidence enabling us to specify some individual links by which the interchange of articles of faith might be most naturally effected. Bardesanes,[3] for example, one of the more brilliant spirits of the latter half of the second century, had himself travelled from Edessa to some part of Hindústán, expressly with the purpose of there studying the religion of the Bráhmans: while Mani,[4] who en-

CHAP. II.

evinced by early heresies.

[1] See Von Bohlen, *Das alte Indien*, I. 571 sq. He concurs in many of the views adopted by J. J. Schmidt, in his treatise, *Über die Verwandschaft der gnostisch-theosophischen Lehren mit den Religionen des Orients, vorzüglich dem Buddhaismus*, Leipzig, 1828; and afterwards, in the main, by Neander, *Ch. Hist.* II. 159 sq. Bohn's ed. See also Prof. Wilson's Preface to the *Vishńu Puráńa*, p. viii.; and the more recent investigation in Lassen, III. 379 sq.

[2] *e. g.* Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* V. 27: τὰ Μαξίμου περὶ τοῦ πολυθρυλλήτου παρὰ τοῖς αἱρεσιώταις ζητήματος, τοῦ πόθεν ἡ κακία, καὶ περὶ τοῦ γενητὴν ὑπάρχειν τὴν ὕλην.

[3] Von Bohlen, as above, p. 572. According to Lassen (III. 404), Bardesanes did not actually travel to India, but derived his knowledge of Bráhmanism from intercourse with ambassadors sent from India to Antoninus Pius.

[4] Neander, II. 170. This writer guards himself, however, against

CHAP. II. deavoured to construct a composite religion, of which Christianity was made a leading element, had wandered far and near in quest of knowledge, and contracted in his wanderings an especial fondness for the creed of Gautama, which he studied under the roof of some Buddhist grotto in Turkistán.

Further proofs of external communication.

If the above considerations make it probable that intercourse did actually exist between the early misbelievers and the speculative minds of Hindústán, I hold myself at liberty to argue, on the other side, that Christian influences might be as readily made to operate through corresponding channels, and assist, to some degree, in modifying the old principles of Hinduism. But the question is not one of plausibilities and bare presumptions. Many circumstances raise it higher in the scale of probability. I shall not insist upon the fact that copies of the Gospels, both in their genuine and corrupted form, obtained a very wide circulation in all regions of the east. I shall not exaggerate the value of the evidence which traces the extant community of 'Christians of St. Thomas'[1] to the apostolic age. Eusebius[2] has dis-

Spurious Gospels:

'Christians of St. Thomas.'

the construction that he means to explain *all* the parallelisms between true and false religions on the theory of external influences. He accordingly adds (p. 164): 'Analogies of this sort, having a perfectly internal origin, often recur in the historical development of Christianity, wherever *corruptions of purely Christian truth* have sprung up.' Cf. Lassen, III. 407, 408. Major Cunningham (*Bhilsa Topes*, pp. 133 sq.) is of opinion that Porphyry, 'the learned Pagan, was in fact a European Buddhist.'

[1] See Hough, *Hist. of Christianity in India*, I. 32 sq. Wiltsch (*Kirchl. Geographie*, I. 18, n. 8) declares himself in favour of the old traditions on this subject: 'Die Annahme, dass der Apostel Thomas in *India Asiatica*, seu *Orientali* die christliche Kirche gegründet habe, ist fast allgemein, und wenn je eine Nachricht der Kirchen-Historiker verdient geglaubt zu werden, so ist es diese.'

[2] *Hist. Eccl.* v. 10, where in speaking of Pantænus, he writes: ὡς καὶ κήρυκα τοῦ κατὰ Χριστὸν εὐαγγελίου τοῖς ἐπ' ἀνατολῆς ἔθ-

tinctly mentioned, that when a learned doctor of Alexandria, at the close of the second century, was impelled by missionary zeal as far east as India, he found the seeds of Christianity already scattered, and already bearing fruit. The same diffusion of the Gospel at this early period is attested by the Arian writer, Philostorgius. He informs[1] us of a missionary with the surname Indicus (ὁ *Ἰνδός*), who, on visiting his native land and other parts of the Hindú Peninsula, was not surprised to meet with fellow-Christians, whose peculiar rites attested their antiquity, as well as their comparative isolation from Christendom at large. The date of this testimony is about the year 350, and two centuries later every doubt as to the permanent presence of Christianity is dissipated by accurate reports of an Egyptian writer,[2] whose extensive travels gained for him the title 'Indicopleustes.' Among other places where Christian bodies had been organised he mentions Taprobane (Ceylon), Male or Mangalor on the coast of Malabar, and Calliana, a settlement near Bombay.[3]

Mission of Pantænus,

and of Theophilus.

Testimony of Cosmas Indicopleustes.

And if it be alleged that nearly all this evidence points to southern rather than to northern Hindústán, the answer is that we have frequent traces of Christianity in that quarter also. The prolific missions[4] of the old Chaldæan or 'Nestorian' Church, diffused

Permanence of Christianity in north-western India.

νεσιν ἀναδειχθῆναι, μέχρι καὶ τῆς Ἰνδῶν στειλάμενον γῆς: cf. Neander, I. 113.

[1] *Hist. Eccl.* III. 4. The native place of Theophilus (c. 5) was Dvípa Sukhatara, the modern Diu Sokotora: Lassen, II. 1101.

[2] See Neander's remarks on this account of Cosmas, *Ch. Hist.* III. 165, 166, and Lassen, II. 1101.

[3] Cf. Renan (in *Journal Asiatique* (1856) p. 251) for some account of a Buddhist monk who in the sixth century became a Christian.

[4] A 'Notitia' of the very numerous sees founded by Nestorian influence is given in Assemani, *Bibl. Orient.* III. pt. ii. pp. 705 sq.

CHAP. II. with marvellous rapidity over regions far beyond the Tigris, had ere long their offshoots in the heart of Bactriana and the northern provinces of India. There a knowledge of the Gospel lingered through the Middle Ages; for as late as 1503[1] we find the Nestorian patriarch ordaining a metropolitan and three bishops for the regulation of the Church of India; while in 1666, owing partly to these influences and partly to the rival missions of the Latin Church, the Christian population in the north-western provinces was roughly estimated at 25,000 families.[2]

Probable allusion to Christianity and its effects in the Mahâbhárata.

It is not then so improbable that while India on the one hand stimulated the formation of the early Christian heresies, genuine Christianity may in turn have imported some of its distinctive elements into the speculations of Bráhmanical and Buddhist doctors. One of the most able Hindú scholars of the present day[3] has even found allusion to such modifications in the ancient literature of India, and pointed out particular links of intercourse through which the Christian influence may have been conveyed. His

[1] Wiltsch, II. 361.

[2] Sleeman, *Rambles and Recollections*, I. 15, quoting Thevenot, the traveller.

[3] Weber, *Ind. Studien*, I. 400, note. His deductions from the passage in the *Mahábhárata* are as follows: 'Dass Bráhmanen über das Meer nach Alexandrien oder gar Kleinasien gekommen seien zur Zeit der Blüthe des ersten Christenthums, und dass sie, heimgekehrt nach Indien, die monotheistische Lehre und einige Legenden desselben auf den einheimischen, durch seinen Namen an *Christus* den Sohn der *göttlichen* Jungfrau erinnernden, und vielleicht schon vorher göttlich verehrten Weisen oder Heros *Krishña Dévakíputra* [Sohn der Dévakí "*Göttlichen*"] übergetragen haben, im übrigen die christlichen Lehren durch Sánkhya- und Yoga-Philosophemata ersetzend, wie sie umgekehrt ihrerseits vielleicht auf die Bildung gnostischer Sekten hingewirkt hatten.' Lassen, who controverts some portions of Weber's theory (*Ind. Alterthum.* II. 1096 sq.) believes, notwithstanding, that the people visited by the Bráhmans were really Christians (p. 1099), and conjectures that the interviews took place in Parthia.

chief authority is a passage of the *Mahábhárata*, allowed on all hands to be one of the last additions[1] made to that gigantic poem; and as such it may have been no earlier than the second century of the Christian era. According to it, three Bráhmans crossed the sea upon a visit to some neighbouring region (Śvétadvípa), whose peculiarities, if the story be divested of poetic adjuncts and embellishments, consisted mainly in the fact that the inhabitants were light complexioned, and also in religion were monotheists (*ékántinas*). During this visit of the Bráhmans they acquired a stock of knowledge which enabled them on their return to introduce improvements into the hereditary creed, and more especially to make the worship of Krishńa (Vásudéva) the most prominent feature of their system. The foreigners from whom they borrowed these ideas are said to have also worshipped the one God without the intervention of images, to have been gifted with superior faith (*bhakti*), to have assigned peculiar efficacy to prayer when offered up in spirit, and to have confidently hoped that their specific doctrines would ere long attract to them a larger circle of adherents. Without entering on the controversies touching the precise date or the locality of this interview, or claiming any knowledge of the more immediate effects which it produced on one party or the other, I am

[1] Lassen, II. 1096, n. 1. A writer in *Col. Ch. Chron.* (XI. 146 sq.) is of opinion that the Bráhmans were not likely to borrow *religious* ideas from foreign sources. He translates the whole passage from the *Mahábhárata* (Bk. XII. ss. 337—341), and is inclined to think that Lassen has expressed himself with too great certainty in regard to the origin of the legend. Weber (*Indische Skizzen*, Berlin, 1857) has one essay entitled, 'Die Verbindungen Indiens mit den Ländern im Westen.' He resumes the discussion of Krishńa-worship (pp. 92 sq.).

CHAP. II. surely justified in drawing from it the conclusion that as intercourse may thus be shewn to have subsisted between the Christian and the Bráhman, it is not impossible that some ideas and traditions of the latter were subjected to the transforming influences of Christianity.

Placing, therefore, all these facts and inferences before the reader to guide him in his judgment of what follows, I shall now proceed to the investigation of particular points in which the two religions have been thought to touch, if not entirely coincide. These have reference to—

1. Hindú monotheism.
2. Hindú triads, or trinities.
3. Hindú *avatáras*, or incarnations, especially that of Krishńa.

§ I. *Hindú monotheism.*

Exaggerations of sceptical writers on this subject.

The observation is now current that whatever else the old inhabitants of India may have gradually forgotten or distorted, their idea of God has always been the same, and always far superior to conceptions that prevailed in other parts of heathendom. 'The Gospels themselves,' wrote Belsham, 'teach not a purer monotheism than do the sacred writings of the Hindoos.'[1] Voltaire, in his endeavours to destroy the supernatural character of Christianity by pointing out its close resemblance to other systems, had paraded the same boast in many of his writings; but when he sought to justify his language by appealing

[1] Quoted in W. J. Fox's *Religious Ideas*, p. 11.

to the *Ezour-Veidam*,[1] which he took an active part in rescuing from oblivion, he betrayed at once the weakness of his cause and his own blind credulity. The production was in fact no genuine monument of ancient India; it was the fabrication of a Jesuit missionary, who had put it forth in order to facilitate the conversion of the more learned class of Hindús by shewing that some truths of Christianity were not unknown to their forefathers. This fact alone should have suggested to mythologists that belief in one Supreme Being was less prominently stated in the genuine Védas than the 'patriarch of infidelity' was willing to suppose. And if we turn from vague assertions or disjointed extracts, and examine the documents themselves, it is quite obvious (1) that current statements on the purity and sublimity of early Hindú worship are very much exaggerated, and (2) that where traces of monotheism exist at all, they indicate a tenet far inferior to the lofty theism of Christianity.

My own belief is that no absolutely true idea can be obtained with reference to these subjects till a deeper study of Hindú literature shall have enabled us to discriminate more accurately between the lyric and dogmatic portions of the Védas, *i. e.* between those portions which are manifestly ancient, but in which there is a general absence of the metaphysical element, and those of later growth in which that element is active, and preponderates. It is also

[1] See the account in Saint-Hilaire, *Des Védas*, pp. 15 sq., and Adelung's *Sketch of Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 75, 76, Oxf. 1832. Voltaire imagined that the work was composed before the date of Alexander's expedition: but the real author, it is said, was Roberto de' Nobili, a nephew of Bellarmine, who went on a mission to India about 1640.

CHAP. II. most desirable to separate as far as may be the pre-Christian treatises from those which are allowedly post-Christian; since suspicions are fast gaining ground[1] that even the Bráhmanical ideas of God were somewhat modified and exalted by intercourse with Christianity.

Rarity of allusions to one God.

If we lay aside expressions in the Vaidic hymns which have occasionally transferred the attributes of power and omnipresence to some one elemental deity, as Indra for example, and by so doing intimated that even in the depths of nature-worship intuitions pointing to one great and all-embracing Spirit could not be extinguished, there are scarcely a dozen 'mantras' in the whole collection where the unity of God is stated with an adequate amount of firmness and consistency. The great mass of those productions either invoke the aid, or deprecate the wrath, of multitudinous deities, who elsewhere are regarded as no more than finite emanations from the 'Lord of the creatures'[2] (*Prajápati*); and therefore in the sacred

[1] See above, p. 216, n. 2. Weber also has pronounced distinctly in favour of this view: 'Wenn ich nun schon oben, p. 400, aus einer bestimmten Sage des M Bh. speciell die Verehrung Krishña's als Eingottes, als durch das Bekanntwerden der Bráhmaña mit dem Christenthum veranlasst gemuthmasst habe, so kann ich nicht umhin hier es auch weiter als meine Vermuthung auszusprechen, dass überhaupt die spätere exclusiv monotheistische Richtung der indischen Sekten, welche *einen bestimmten persönlichen Gott* verehren, um seine Gnade flehen und an ihn glauben (*bhakti* und *çraddhá*) eben durch das Bekanntwerden der Inder mit den entsprechenden Lehren des Christenthums influenzirt worden ist:' *Ind. Stud.* I. 423, and, as reiterated, II. 169.

[2] Thus in the remarkable hymn entitled 'Au Dieu Créateur' (*Rig-Véda*, ed. Langlois, IV. 409, 410) the last clause runs as follows: 'O Pradgâpati, ce n'est point un autre que toi qui a donné naissance à tous ces êtres. Accordenous les biens pour lesquels nous t'offrons le sacrifice. Puissions-nous être les maîtres de la richesse!' And just before the supremacy of One God is distinctly recognised: 'Parmi les dieux il est le Dieu incomparable. A quel (autre) dieu offririons-nous l'holocauste?'

books themselves polytheism was the feature ever prominent, and, what is more remarkable, was never openly repudiated. In other words, where a belief in the supremacy of God is manifest at all, it looks as though it were unable to assert itself in practice, owing to the uncongenial atmosphere by which it was surrounded. Still, we must allow, that of those hymns in which monotheism is predominant, some exhibit true conceptions of the power, the spirituality, and the unrivalled majesty of God. The following is a specimen; it is taken from the last division of the Rig-Véda, and entitled by a commentator, the Supreme Spirit[1] (*Paramátmá*):—

One of the best specimens.

"Nothing then existed, neither being (*sat*), nor non-being (*asat*); no world, no air, no firmament. Where was then the covering of the universe? where the receptacle of the water? where the impenetrable depths of air? Death was not, nor immortality, nor anything that marked the boundaries of day and night. But THAT (*Tad*) breathed in solitude without affiation, absorbed in His own thought (*swadhá*). Besides THAT nought existed. The darkness was at first enveloped in darkness; the water was devoid of movement; and everything was gathered up and blended together in THAT. The Being reposed on the bosom of this void; and the universe was at last produced by the strength of His devotion (*tapas*). In the beginning desire (*káma*) was formed in His spirit (*manas*): and this was the first productive principle. It is thus that the wise men, pondering in their heart, have explained the union of being and non-being.

"But who can know such things exactly? Or who can declare them? These beings, whence come they? This creation, whence did it originate? The *dévas* were themselves created or produced. But THAT, who knows His nature and His origin?

[1] Langlois, iv. 421. I have followed his translation in the main, comparing it with Colebrooke's (*Asiat. Researches*, VIII. 404) and Saint-Hilaire's (*Des Védas*, p. 60).

CHAP. II. Who can tell how all this varied world has issued into being? Can it, or can it not, support itself? He who, from the heights of heaven, is gazing on the universe, He alone can tell whether it exists, or only seems to exist."

Nature of Hindú monotheism.

It is obvious from the character of this exalted hymn and the position which it occupies in the Rig-Véda, that it was the product of an age in which the speculations of India were assuming the peculiar forms presented to our view in the Bráhmanic period. And, we saw already, a belief in the common origin of the phenomenal universe was, in this second stage of the Hindú religion, lying at the root of all men's theorisings. Unity became the central, though it might be esoteric,[1] doctrine of the 'orthodox' philosopher. Every thing that is, and every thing that seems to be, comes forth originally from God, who is the primal source of being, and eventually is gathered up afresh in Him, the all-pervading Soul or Spirit. The *dévas*, worshipped by the undiscerning multitude, are held to be no more than scintillations of His majesty: they emanate from Him, who, when the worlds were brought into existence, had proceeded to create the 'guardians of the worlds.' Hence God is, ultimately, every thing, and every thing is God. He 'is Brahmá; he is Indra; he is Prajápati: these gods are he, and so are the five

[1] It is remarkable that this *doctrina arcani*, on which Cudworth and others have insisted as a fundamental characteristic of ancient systems of philosophy, was recognised as late as the sixteenth century. In one of Xavier's conversations with a Bráhman, he was told *confidentially* that the learned Hindús all believed in the unity of God; and further, that it was revealed in their ancient writings, 'que toutes les fausses religions cesseroient un jour, et qu'un temps viendroit où tout le monde garderoit une même loi:' Bouhours, *Vie de S. François Xavier*, pp. 95, 96, Louvain, 1822.

primary elements, earth, air, the etherial fluid, water, and light."[1] CHAP. II.

The attributes and operations of this one great Spirit are nowhere brought before us with such fervour and sublimity, as in the *Íśa-Upanishad*, a kind of pendant to the second Véda: for not only is He there exhibited as the All-glorious and Supreme, but also as the proper object of man's worship, the restorer of the fallen spirit, and the author of eternal happiness. The following passage[2] will give the reader a just idea of the whole:

"One sovereign ruler pervades this world of worlds. Nurture thyself with that single thought, abandoning all others, and covet not the joys of any creature. He who in this life performs his religious duties may desire to live a hundred years; but even to the end thou shouldest have no other occupation. It is to regions, left a prey for evil spirits and covered with eternal darkness, that those men go after death, who have corrupted their own soul. This one single Spirit, which nothing can disturb, is swifter than the thought of man. This primal Mover the *dévas* even cannot overtake. Unmoved itself, it infinitely transcends all others, however rapid be their course. It moves the universe at its pleasure: it is distant from us, and yet very near to all things: it pervades this entire universe, and yet is infinitely beyond it. The man who has learned to recognise all beings in this supreme Spirit and this supreme Spirit in all beings, can henceforth look upon no creature with contempt. The man who understands that all beings only exist in this single being; the man who is made conscious of such profound identity, what trouble or what pain can touch him? He then arrives at Brahma himself: he is luminous, apart from body,

[1] See Colebrooke's translation from the *Aitaréya Áraṅya*, in *Asiat. Res.* VIII. 421, 422.

[2] It is translated with the title *Íśávásyam*, in Sir W. Jones's *Works*, VI. 423 sq. 4to. ed., by Rammohun Roy, *Translation of several principal books, &c. of the Veds*, pp. 101 sq. Lond. 1832; and still more exactly from a somewhat different text, by Saint-Hilaire, *Des Védas*, pp. 86 sq.

CHAP. II. apart from evil, apart from matter, pure, and rescued from all taint: he knows, he foreknows, he rules every thing: he sees only by himself alone, and things appear to him such as they were from all eternity, always like themselves.....Let the wind, the breath immortal, carry off this body of mine, which is mere ashes; but, O Brahma, remember my intentions, remember my efforts, remember my deeds. O Agni (spirit of fire), conduct us by sure pathways to eternal happiness. O God, who knowest all beings, purify us from every sin, and we shall be enabled to consecrate to thee our holiest adorations. My mouth is seeking truth only in this golden cup. It is I, O Brahma! I who adore thee under the form of the resplendent sun. O Sun eternal, hearken to my prayer."

The striking similarity in tone and sentiment between this prayer and the more lofty passages[1] of the *Bhagavad-Gítá* has not unnaturally induced a modern writer to assign their composition to the same period of Hindú literature; and at the same time hinted that, as the date of the latter was subsequent to the diffusion of Christianity, the former may be possibly indebted for some of its more ethical properties to the superior light of revelation. But, however all such points may be eventually decided, it is certain that no higher specimen of heathen worship has been hitherto found in the surviving monuments of Bráhmanism. 'One is tempted to ask,' writes[2] a learned translator of it, 'whether the Himâlaya or Mount Sinai was the first to listen to these sacred verses.' But he adds immediately afterwards: 'That grand idea of the unity of God was lost in India, instead of being developed: it was swallowed up in pantheism; and these precious

[1] See a specimen above, p. 242, n. 2.

[2] Saint-Hilaire, p. 89.

germs have therefore perished under a mass of most deplorable superstitions.' CHAP. II.

Here indeed is one of the peculiarities to which I would direct the special notice of the reader. The Hindús have been, from first to last, a tribe of creature-worshippers, a nation of polytheists. Belief in one supreme Intelligence, so far from elevating the character of their institutions and obtaining an exclusive utterance in their sacred poetry, has been an heirloom only of the favoured few. It was so, in the Vaidic period, when the young imagination of the Áryan, intoxicated by the beauties of external nature and led astray from God, sought refuge in the deification of the elements. It was so, when his descendants had been taught to clothe the genii of that earlier period with the attributes of human heroes and of god-like sages. It is so at present, when a Hindú writer has been heard deploring the incurable idolatry of his countrymen, and affirming that 'the allegorical adoration of the true Deity,'[1] which anti-Christian scholars had professed to recognise in the existing forms of worship, is totally unknown among themselves. *Practical polytheism.*

But I shall go yet further. Passing by the question as to whether any changes were, in this particular, effected through the agency of the Gospel and Kurán, I feel justified in asserting that the best conceptions formed of the supreme Being, in the highest systems *Defect in the Hindú idea of God.*

[1] In the 'Introduction' to his *Translation*, &c., Rammohun Roy declares that the Hindús of the present day 'have no such views of the subject, but firmly believe in the real existence of innumerable gods and goddesses, who possess, in their own departments, full and independent power; and to propitiate them, and not the true God, are temples erected and ceremonies performed:' p. 5; cf. above, pp. 199, 200.

CHAP. II. of Hindú philosophy, are all imperfect and onesided: they fall short of those which have impressed themselves on almost every chapter in the records of the true religion.

God in His relation to matter.

1. The Jehovah of the Hebrews and the God of Christians is so purely spiritual and so entirely supramundane, that His worshippers could never run the risk of identifying their Divinity either with the forms of matter, or with powers and processes of the material universe. He is in essence totally distinct from each and all of these. The world of matter is objective to Him, and so far from thwarting His divine omnipotence, it is one single product of His legislative will, an instrument, a vassal. On the other hand, the Brahma of Hindústán is evermore confounded with the vital properties of nature, or is only made coordinate and coequal with them. Creation itself is there preceded by a something,[1] that restrains and fetters the sovereignty of the Creator; or else, as in the Sánkhya system, where it was attempted to establish a peculiar principle of causality by extruding the revealed idea of God, creation is no more than the spontaneous evolution of a primary essence, irrespectively of any conscious and designing Agent. God, in other words, is not supreme according to the doctrine of Hindú philosophers. Some of them indeed allow us to regard Him as the ever-present basis and the sole substratum of the universe, the life and starting-point of all its varied operations: but in no case do the energies inherent in His being enable Him to rise superior to mysterious laws which regulate the course of nature. Even where the

[1] See Prof. Wilson's *Lectures*, p. 53.

Sánkhyas had, in later times, so modified[1] their tenets that volition was ascribed to the Almighty and His moral attributes more fully recognised, this virtual limitation of His freedom, this entrenchment on His absolute supremacy, continues to be visible. CHAP. II.

How far impersonal.

And since Hindús were rarely able to conceive of God as altogether separable from the world of phenomena without plunging into utter atheism, so their noblest thoughts of Him are in the same proportion leavened and debased by pantheistic elements, of which the logical issue is denial of His proper personality. 'This whole,' it had been taught in schools of 'orthodox' philosophy, 'this whole is Brahma, from Brahmá to a clod of earth. Brahma is both the efficient and the material cause of the world. He is the potter by whom the fictile vase is formed: He is the clay of which it is fabricated.'[2] Nor, as other phases in the history of Bráhmanism present themselves for our investigation, are evils of this kind corrected and removed. The system in which the freedom of God appeared to be entirely compromised was followed by a subtler form of pantheism, which contended that whatever *is* resulted from the internal necessities of the Divine nature; so that the idea of God, as known to Christendom, instead of gaining clearness with the growth of meta-

[1] Above, p. 216.

[2] Wilson, *Ibid.* p. 49; and above, p. 196; although, as Prof. Wilson justly remarks, the full extent of these materialistic illustrations may not have been intended. Rammohun Roy, as before, p. 12, explains the phrase 'All that exists is indeed God' as equivalent to 'Nothing bears true existence excepting God'; and the phrase 'Whatever we smell or taste is the Supreme Being' as equivalent to 'The existence of whatever thing appears to us relies on the existence of God.' But surely this refinement is excessive.

CHAP. II. physical acumen, had remained as evanescent and impersonal as before. Men argued that all essences, which underlie the various grades of being and impart to the material world whatever of reality it may possess, originate in one great Spirit, who is subjected to periodic resolution and is periodically reabsorbed in simple unity. Creation, therefore, must be construed still more nakedly as another name for emanation. God Himself is one, because the universe is one mighty organism, and all the forms of animated nature, being consubstantial with divinity, or containing in themselves a particle of the all-pervading Spirit, are thereby shielded from the violence of man, or made the fitting objects of his worship. Such is even the theology of portions of the *Íśa-Upanishad*, from which an extract has been given above: and such is also one main tenet of the *Bhagavad-Gítá*, where, in the midst of efforts to establish the universality of God, the language put into the mouth of the divine interlocutor breathes the sternest kind of pantheism, and pursues the principle of absolute necessity to its furthest and most fearful consequences.

God no real object of trust and worship.

2. But granting that relations between God and matter are not always so far misinterpreted; granting that some higher thoughts than such as we have just reviewed were struggling here and there for utterance through the pantheistic terminology of Bráhmanism; granting that the unity of which it speaks is something more than Nature,[1] as traced backwards to its primary

[1] Yet Wuttke (II. 262) is indisposed to grant more than this: 'Das Brahma,' he writes, 'ist nichts als die auf ihre Einheit zurückgeführte Natur, das Natur-Eins, die einheitliche Grundlage aller natürlichen Dinge, ist nicht mehr und nicht weniger.' When

germ and basis by a generalising process of the intellect, or Nature, as idealised and deified by the poetic faculty of the worshipper: granting, also, that the current dogmas, with regard to the great Spirit of the universe, are sometimes capable of interpretations which do not of necessity exclude the thought of His self-consciousness and independent personality, how poor are, notwithstanding, the most elevated of Hindú conceptions as compared with that which has, in every age, been printed on the heart of Christians and of Hebrews! There the Author of the universe, as represented by philosophy, is so unknown, so abstract, so incapable of definition, so devoid of everything that constitutes a bond of sympathy with created beings, as to exercise no power on the direction of the human will or the formation of the human character. No man is able to hold converse with the Absolute; no *déva* can describe the being or mark out the path of the Ineffable. The thought of Him inspires not confidence and hope, but awe, distrust, and apprehension. He has no *paternal* character.[1] The world and the affairs of men may all indeed be subject to fixed laws which had their origin in Him, but no account is taken by this doctrine of the providence by which He regulates the course of individuals and the destinies of nations. Much less are men regarded as the objects of His love

Christianity, as he contends, was brought into communication with Hindúism, the resulting idea of God was a mixture of 'Christian monotheism' and 'Hindú naturalism.'

[1] See Creuzer's *Symbolik*, I. 171, 172, Leipzig, 1836, on the difference between the Christian and heathen use of the word 'Father' as applied to God. 'Wenn der Christ seinen Gott *Vater* nennt so ist es ungetheiltes Vertrauen, was ihm dieses Wort eingiebt. Der Christ *kennt* seinen Gott.'

CHAP. II. and pity, as the wanderers He would fain recover from their blind infatuation, as the prodigals whom He is ever yearning to reclaim and elevate, to pardon and renew. Belief in the Supreme God is therefore with such persons barely *speculative:* it does not warm the heart; it does not quicken the religious sentiment; it does not foster gratitude; it is not perfected by love. The Brahma of the Hindú schoolman still continues a great *It*, a vast but cold abstraction, shewing little or no interest in the world and in the fortunes of his human progeny, or at the best receding far beyond the cognizance of ordinary spirits. Hence it has resulted that the great majority of Hindús have always, during the historic period, substituted for the one true God a host of demi-gods and other parasitical divinities, like those which crowd their pantheon at the present day. Each group they have invested with some one or other of the attributes of God, and made supreme in some one province of creation. These are held to exercise on man the personal government which seemed unworthy of the abstract Brahma, or entirely foreign to His nature. These, it is maintained, are still accessible to mortals; these can listen to the prayer and quaff the grateful sacrifice: these punish or reward according to the quality of actions; and whatever therefore of religious sentiment is now evoked in the great mass of Hindú worshippers, is not so much the issue of half-conscious gropings after the Unknown God, whose image is not utterly obliterated from the human spirit, as a tribute consciously and freely paid to those who are 'no gods.'

Before passing to another division of the subject,

Source of this debased theology.

I cannot help remarking how completely the internal character of the doctrines here compared unites itself with different kinds of evidence in shewing that if Bráhmanism and Christianity have borrowed from each other, the obligation is upon the side of India, not of Palestine: for while many traits of the scriptural idea of God can never be explained by reference to Bráhmanic speculations, nothing pure or noble is distinguishable in the latter, which might not have been derived from more explicit statements of the former. I incline, however, to the intermediate view already urged by St. Augustine in his controversy with the Manichæans of his day: 'Be it known,' he writes, 'to Faustus, or those rather who are charmed by his productions, that our doctrine of divine Monarchy is not borrowed from the heathen, but that, on the other hand, the heathen themselves had not so wholly lapsed into the worship of false gods as to relinquish all belief in the one True God, from whom is every order of created being.'[1]

§ 2. *Hindú trinities, or triads.*

Real nature of the Bráhmanical triad.

It is difficult to understand how any one, whose judgment was not clouded by some theory of his own respecting the extent of the primeval revelation, or who on the other hand was not desirous at all hazards to impair the sacred character of Christianity, could ever have adduced the Hindú triad as the parallel of that transcendent mystery which forms the basis of the Catholic faith. Sir William Jones, who commonly shewed himself as eager as the rest of his

[1] *Contra Faustum*, lib. XX. c. 19: *Opp.* VIII. 345, ed. Bened.

CHAP. II. contemporaries to detect the slightest shadows of affinity between the Bible and the sacred books of India, was in this case strenuous in denying the reality of the alleged resemblances.[1] And fresh investigations have completely justified the verdict of that eminent critic. The *trimúrrti* of India, which eventually is represented under the symbol of a body with three heads, has no foundation in the Védas,[2] nor have any traces of it been discovered in the Laws of Manu. It was clearly the production of a later age,—an age when thoughtful persons, anxious to regain their hold on the idea of unity, began to study all the various processes of physical life, and to reduce them into three kinds or phases, generation, preservation, and destruction.[3] Each of these was deemed the efflux of a special energy, and Brahmá, Vishńu, and Śiva were selected as the verbal representatives of natural causes contemplated in their three-fold character. So long as the idea of God as one, supreme, and personal was consciously preserved, those titles would not necessarily issue in impiety. Men felt that Brahmá, the Ineffable, whose proper dwelling is in gloom and silence, had notwith-

[1] *Asiatic Researches*, I. 273. He complained that missionaries, in their zeal for the conversion of the natives, had been foolish enough to urge that 'the Hindús were even now almost Christians, because their Brahmá, Vishńu and Mahésa [Śiva] were no other than the Christian Trinity.' One of these missionaries was the Jesuit Bouchet, who in the words of Chateaubriand (*Génie du Christianisme*, v. 10) sent home a number of most curious details 'sur le rapport des fables Indiennes avec les principales vérités de nôtre religion, et les traditions de l'écriture.' On the contrary, a learned Jewish writer, Philippsohn, *Development of the Religious Idea*, p. 156, has pointed out that the 'trinitarian Godhead of Christianity' differs from all other triads in being 'exclusively and wholly good; whereas in heathenism one of the three divine powers was conceived to be opposed to the other two, the principle of evil.'

[2] See above, p. 189, n. 1.

[3] Above, pp, 198, 199.

standing made a revelation of Himself in nature, and that under three ideal forms expressing His distinctive operations in that province, men were able to conceive of Him and pay Him adoration. CHAP. II.

How it excluded the truth of the Divine unity;

But however this may be, it is quite certain that ere long the physical attributes of God, as the Creator, the Preserver, the Destroyer, were so rigorously personified, that they not only superseded the more elemental of the Vaidic deities, but practically excluded from men's thoughts the personality of God Himself. Brahmá, for instance, who in theory constituted the first link of some grand chain of emanations, was eventually saluted[1] as the 'great creator,' the 'father of the universe,' the 'founder and the governor of all things:' while other epithets, no less exalted and as plainly inconsistent with belief in unity, were gradually transferred by similar processes to Śiva and Vishńu. These three together represented everything that was divine; all other objects in the pantheon were reducible to these, and were held to be new phases of the three superior gods. 'The deities are only three,' says a high authority[2] of Bráhmanism, 'whose places are the earth, the intermediate region, and heaven; *viz.* fire, air, and the sun. They are pronounced to be [the deities] of the mysterious names severally; and *Prajápati*, the Lord of the creatures, is [the deity] of them collectively. The syllable *Om* intends every deity. It belongs to *Paraméshthí*, him, who dwells in the supreme abode; it appertains to *Brahmá*, the vast one; to *Déva*, God; to *Ádhyátmá*, the super-

[1] Wuttke, II. 269 sq.

[2] Quoted by Colebrooke in *Asiat. Res.* VIII. 395 sq.

CHAP. II.

intending soul. Other deities belonging to these several regions are portions of the [three] Gods; for they are variously named and described, on account of their different operations: but [in fact] there is only one Deity, the Great Soul (*Mahán-Átmá*).'

and substituted the worship of created beings.

This passage, interesting on other accounts, will more especially enable us to realize the thought which underlies all seeming inconsistencies in statements of different Hindú writers respecting the essential character of the members of their sacred triad. Brahmá, Vishńu, and Śiva are deemed worthy of the highest honour, and in act have been so worshipped, because they gather up and place before the worshipper everything that he can possibly know of God; yet all the while they are, as to their essence, creatures[1] separable from Brahma, differing in degree but not in nature from the members of the human species, and all destined to eventual reabsorption like other finite beings. Hence also, as the consequence of this conception, each of them is represented in the ancient books of India accompanied by a wife (*śakti*), who forms the counterpart of his own energies;[2] Saraswatí reflecting the peculiar powers of Brahmá, Lakshmí of Vishńu, and Parvatí of Śiva.

It were needless to point out in detail how this

[1] The following passage is very explicit: 'You are not to consider Vishńu, Brahmá, and Mahádéva (Śiva), and other incorporate beings as the Deity, although they have each of them the denomination of Déva, or divine. They are all created; while the Supreme Being is without beginning or end, unformed, and uncreated; worship and adore Him.' The writer then explains that worship is paid to inferior deities in order that men's 'minds may be composed, and conducted, by degrees, to the essential Unity.' Quoted in Lord Teignmouth's *Life of Sir Wm. Jones*, II. 284, 8vo. ed.

[2] See Stuhr, I. 100, Wuttke, II. 270: and cf. above, p. 174, n. 1.

Hindú triad differs from the Catholic doctrine of the Holy Trinity,—that, I mean, for which the primitive Church had never ceased to struggle with the utmost jealousy[1] when assaulted by a host of pagan theories on the right hand and the left. The opposition between such doctrines is entire and fundamental. The germ of the Christian Trinity is not discoverable in any or in all the processes of physical nature. The actual development of the idea is neither tritheistic nor Sabellian. Christians have indeed been ever constant in maintaining the grand principle of the divine Monarchy. They believe in one only True God, one starting-point, one Head, one ἀρχή, one original, supreme and indivisible Essence. They believe, accordingly, that while the Godhead of the Father is entirely independent, and of none, the Godhead of the Second Person in the blessed Trinity is derived,—derived from all eternity, by the communication to Him of the Godhead of the Father: and a similar remark is applicable to the mode in which the Third Person has eternally coexisted in that infinite Being. They believe, in other words, that the Divine essence, though incapable of multiplication, was not absolutely sterile, yea rather, that in virtue of its communicability, those three transcendent and profound relations have arisen which justify the titles Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.

Christian doctrine of the Trinity in Unity.

[1] Thus St. Athanasius, *Contra Arianos* Oratio II. (Opp. I. 325, Colon. 1686) protests with his wonted vehemence against the tendency of the pagan mind to represent the Persons of the Holy Trinity as created intelligences: Ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν ἀνάσχοιτό τις Χριστιανῶν τῶν τοιούτων αἱρετικῶν· Ἑλλήνων γὰρ ἴδια ταῦτα, ὥστε γενητὴν εἰσάγειν Τριάδα, καὶ τοῖς γενητοῖς αὐτὴν συνεξισάζειν, κ. τ. λ.

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On the other hand, all Catholic Christians have maintained with equal firmness that as each of the Three Personalities is properly Divine, so each must be regarded as the subject of attributes, as one distinct and personal Agent. The Word of God, for instance, is no simple quality, constituting one person with the Father; as a man together with his faculties is said to form one human subject. Neither is the Son of God a deified intelligence, exalted far above the level of his fellows, and entrusted with the joint administration of the universe. However much these views of Christ and of His Person may be advocated here and there by the professing Christian, they differ *toto cœlo* from the principles inherited by early saints and martyrs; for otherwise the opposition offered to the Gospel by the pagan scoffer and half-pagan heretic would be utterly inexplicable.

Sánkhya triad.

No greater resemblance will again be found between the Christian Trinity and some ideal combinations which arise from time to time in systems of Hindú philosophy. One of these appears to have been prompted by a wish of later Sánkhyas to get rid of the Bráhmanical triad, and replace it by a something more in harmony with their own peculiar speculations. They accordingly affirmed[1] that *buddhi*, or intelligence, the second in order of their 'principles,' became distinctly known as three gods, by the agency of the three 'qualities;' and was thus to be esteemed 'one person' (*múrrti*) distributed in 'three *dévas*,' or, in other words, Brahmá, Vishńu, and Śiva.

Buddhist triad.

Buddhism, in like manner, had in later times put forth its own peculiar triad. Intelligence, the first

[1] Colebrooke, *Essais*, ed. Pauthier, pp. 17, 18.

principle, was in the monasteries of Nepál associated with *Dharma*, the principle of matter; while a mediating power, or *Sangga*, was combined with the two others in order to secure their union and harmonious co-operation.[1] But this latter class of triads will more fitly come before us, on proceeding to examine[2] what is called the 'Platonic trinity,' a doctrine which has often since the days of Plotinus been put forward as subversive of the loftier claims of Christianity.

§ 3. *Hindú* avatáras, *or incarnations, especially that of Krishńa.*

Origin of Hindú avatáras.

A remark which I have made already in allusion to the Hindú triads may as safely be extended to the Hindú theory of incarnations. That theory again

[1] Cf. Cunningham (*Bhilsa Topes*, pp. 35, 36; p. 358: Lond. 1854), who traces back this triad as far as B.C. 247. Schott *Uber den Buddhaismus in Hochasien*, pp. 39, 40) has some interesting revelations on this subject. The three most precious things in the estimation of Buddhists are Śákya-muni, his religion (*Dharma*), and the community of religious men (*Sangga*). 'Unter *Dharma* und *Sangga* versteht man im ganzen buddhaistischen Hochasien und eben so in China *keine mit Buddha eins ausmachenden Personen* oder seinem Wesen emanirten Kräfte.' Still the Buddhists of those regions are sometimes in the habit of grouping three objects of worship together; *e.g.* Śákya-muni, his next predecessor, and his next successor (*Ibid.* p. 40). On Egyptian and other triads, see Wilkinson, 2nd series, I. 185 sq.; and Bunsen's protest 'in the name of philosophy' against the abuse of the word; *Egypt's place in Universal History*, I. 365.

[2] In the meantime I refer the reader to C. Morgan's able *Investigation of the Trinity of Plato, &c.*, who, in treating of the Catholic doctrine of the Holy Trinity, remarks (pp. 154, 155, Camb. 1853): 'But the cultivators of human wisdom appear to have been total strangers to it, till it was disclosed to them by a teacher of philosophy, [Plotinus], who had been educated in the bosom of Christianity. Then, and not till then, they used it as a key to unlock the abstract subtilties of Plato, and to throw a decent veil over the extravagant and licentious fables of Pagan mythology.'

CHAP. II. has no existence either in the Védas,[1] or the Laws of Manu.[2] It is, therefore, a development, or rather I should say, an aftergrowth, of which no trace appears until we reach a later stage in the religious history of Hindústán. There was, however, a clear tendency in the direction of this dogma, when philosophers had once begun to realize the principle of emanation; for if all created beings had within them particles of Divinity, it was easy to believe that heroes, whether physical or moral, had been gifted with so large a share of the divine, that God might, without impropriety, be said to dwell in them, to speak in them, to use them as material instruments whereby His purposes were carried out.

Their general forms and characteristics.

The name of *avatára*, or descent, has been, however, for the most part limited to certain manifestations of Vishńu, the second member of the mythological triad, who is made to vindicate his character as god and guardian of humanity, or as a middle-term between the powers of generation and destruction, by stepping down from his celestial dwelling-place for the deliverance of the earth at large, or for the special benefit of his worshippers. The *avatáras* of this class are ten in number. First of all Vishńu is represented as inhabiting the shape of an enormous fish, by which a remnant of the human family was rescued from a general deluge; secondly, as incarnate in a tortoise, by whose help the *dévas* were enabled to manufacture for themselves a new elixir, or ambrosia, which imparted immortality; thirdly, in a

[1] Above, p. 190, n. 1.

[2] Vishńu is only once noticed in this ancient code (Bk. XII. § 121), and then as a divinity of inferior rank.

boar, which, when the earth was carried by a demon to the bottom of the sea, dived down and rescued it; and then advancing, in the fourth place, to the highest order of animal life, and clothing himself with attributes more terrible and avenging, he appears as Nara-singha, the 'Man-Lion.' The fifth incarnation, that of Vámana, the Dwarf, exhibits him rather in the light of a diplomatist, who had recovered for the *dévas* the possession of the 'three worlds' when they were conquered by the demon Bali. CHAP. II.

We shall see hereafter that the earliest of these legends was not destitute of all historic basis, and others, as the second, third, and fourth, and possibly the fifth, are equally susceptible of such an explanation. The tenth, or Kalki *avatára*,[1] is believed to be still future, pointing to some fearful crisis, when Vishńu, in human form, and seated on a 'white horse,' shall give the signal for extinguishing this visible universe. The four remaining *avatáras* (the sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth) are all so far historical, that a real basis for them is discoverable in the annals of the Áryan conflicts, either with the savage aborigines of the Peninsula, or with other foes of the Bráhmanical religion.[2] Vishńu, in every case, is thought to be incarnate in the person of some sage or hero; he struggles with malignant spirits, whether men or demons, and having rescued his own

[1] Cf. Rev. vi. 8, which intimates the Christian origin of this legend. It will be considered again in Chap. III.

[2] For instance, the startling phenomena of Buddhism were finally explained by some of its Bráhmanical opponents on the supposition that Gautama Buddha was an illusory form emitted from the substance of Vishńu (the *ninth* in the series), and that his mission really was to deceive and so destroy the Daityas, or lower classes, who from their ascetic habits had grown too powerful: see *Vishńu Pur.* ed. Wilson, pp. 336 sq.

CHAP. II. followers from their grasp, recedes again into the sphere of absolute divinity.

Particular examination of Krishña-ism.

But one of these remarkable incarnations, that of Krishña, or the eighth of the foregoing series, will demand a fuller investigation, not only as the leading member of a group, but also as peculiar in its characteristics,[1] and presenting many obvious points of similarity to incidents recorded in our Gospels.

In the earlier *avatáras*, Vishñu is said to have emitted only a portion (*anśa*) of his godhead, and so to have established an imperfect relation with the forms of animal and human life; but Krishña, on the contrary, reflected the most glorious image of the god of preservation. The god himself was actually incarnate; he descended as a real man upon the theatre of humanity, while claiming for himself the attributes of the Supreme Being, with whom he is identified. The first example of this great conception meets us in the pages of the *Bhagavad-Gítá*, in which the poet makes him speak as follows:[2] 'Even though I am unborn, of changeless essence, and the lord also of all which exist, yet, in presiding over nature (*prakriti*), which is mine, I am born by my own mystic power (*máyá*). For whenever there is

[1] Krishña-worship, according to M. Pavie, *Bhagavat Dasam Askand*, Pref. p. xi. (Paris, 1852) is 'le plus moderne de tous les systèmes philosophiques et religieux qui ont partagé l'Inde en sectes rivales. Basé sur la théorie des incarnations successives que n'admettaient ni le Véda, ni les législateurs de la première époque brahmanique, le krichnaïsme *diffère sur tant de points* des croyances particulières à l'Inde, qu'on a été tenté de le considérer comme un emprunt fait aux philosophies et aux religions étrangères.'

[2] Chap. IV. (p. 30, ed. Thomson). Elsewhere Krishña is represented as the Lord of the world, the Creator, the 'Lord of Brahmá, Vishñu and Śiva:' Wuttke, II. 339.

a relaxation of duty, O son of Bharata! and an increase of impiety, I then reproduce myself for the protection of the good, and the destruction of evil-doers. I am produced in every age for the purpose of establishing duty.' But although the name of Krishńa and the groundwork of his legend were thus fully apprehended at an early period, it was only in the course of ages that Krishńáism was able to embody itself into a sect,[1] and only after further intervals that the legend was invested with the fulness and luxuriance, which it manifests in the Puráńas,[2] —documents belonging to what is termed the 'renaissance of Bráhmanism,' *i. e.* a period not earlier than the eighth, nor later than the twelfth century of the Christian era.

The Krishńa-legend.

I subjoin an extract of the legend[3] as derived from these sources by a recent hand with no unfriendly or polemical object:

[1] Elphinstone, *Hist. of India*, p. 102, 3rd ed., places the formation of all the sects, which are founded on the worship of particular incarnations, later than the beginning of the 8th century of the Christian era: and Colebrooke (*As. Res.* VIII. 495) believes that the 'worship of Rama and of Crishna by the Vaishnavas, and that of Mahadeva and Bhavani by the Saivas and Sactas, have been generally introduced since the persecution of the Bauddhas and Jainas.' Lassen, in like manner (*Ind. Alt.* II. 446) considers that prominence was given to Krishńa-worship in the hope of counterbalancing the influence of Buddhism at the time when it was threatening to become universal in the Peninsula.

[2] See the *Vishńu Puráńa* as edited by Prof. Wilson, and the *Bhágavat-Puráńa*, as edited by M. Burnouf. As all this class of writings are thoroughly *sectarian* in their character, they must have originated after the growth of the rival sects into which Bráhmanism was at length divided; and the general opinion now is that no Puráńa, *as it now exists*, can claim the high antiquity which was formerly assigned to it (Lassen, I. 479 sq.).

[3] In Mr. Thomson's edition of the *Bhagavad-Gítá*, pp. 134 sq. A longer summary will be found in M. Pavie's edition of the *Bhagavat Dasam Askand*, Pref. pp. XXXIV. sq.

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"The king of the Daityas or aborigines, Áhuka, had two sons, Devaka and Ugrasena. The former had a daughter named Devakí, the latter a son called Kansa. Devakí (*the divine*) was married to a nobleman of the Áryan race named Vasudeva (or Anakadundubhi), the son of Śúra, a descendant of Yadu, and by him had eight sons. Vasudeva had also another wife named Rohiní. Kansa, the cousin of Devakí, was informed by the saint and prophet Nárada, that his cousin would bear a son, who would kill him and overthrow his kingdom. Kansa was king of Mathurá, and he captured Vasudeva and his wife Devakí, imprisoned them in his own palace, set guards over them, and slew the six children whom Devakí had already borne. She was now about to give birth to the seventh, who was Balaráma, the playfellow of Krishña, and, like him, supposed to be an incarnation of Vishñu; but by divine agency, the child was transferred before birth to the womb of Vasudeva's other wife, Rohiní, who was still at liberty, and was thus saved. Her eighth child was Krishña, who was born at midnight, with a very black skin,[1] and a peculiar curl of hair called the *Śrívatsa*, resembling a Saint Andrew's cross, on his breast. The gods now interposed to preserve the life of this favoured baby from Kansa's vigilance, and accordingly lulled the guards of the palace to sleep with the Yoga-nidrá, or mysterious slumber. Taking the infant, its father Vasudeva stole out undiscovered as far as the Yamuná, or Jumna, river, which seems to have been the boundary between the Áryans and the aborigines. This he crossed, and on the other side found the cart and team of a nomad Áryan cowherd, called Nanda, whose wife, Yashodá, had by strange coincidence just been delivered of a female child. Vasudeva, warned of this by divine admonition, stole to her bedside, and placing Krishña by her, re-crossed the river, and re-entered the palace, with the female baby of Yashodá in his arms, and thus substituted it for his own son. When Kansa discovered the cheat, he for a while gave up the affair, and set the prisoners at liberty, but ordered

[1] *Krishña*, as an adjective, means simply *black*, which ought at once to dispose of the vulgar cavil that Χριστός is Krishña slightly disguised. Each word grows naturally out of the character of the personage with whom it is associated.

all male children to be put to death. Vasudeva then entrusted Krishña to the care of Nanda, the cowherd, who took him to the village of Gokula, or Vraja, and there brought him up. Here Krishña, and his elder brother Balaráma, who joined him, wandered about together as children, and evinced their divine character by many unruly pranks of surprising strength, such as kicking over the cart, which served as conveyance and domicile to Nanda and his family. The female Daitya Pútaná was sent to suckle him, but the refractory baby, discovering the trick, showed his gratitude by slaying her. Later in life he vanquished the serpent Kálíya in the middle of the Yamuná (Jumna) river. A demon, Arishta, assuming the form of a bull; another, Keshin, that of a horse; and a third, Kálanemi, all undertook to destroy the boy, but each fell victims to his superhuman strength. Krishña now incited Nanda and the cowherds to abandon the worship of Indra, and to adopt that of the cows, which supported them, and the mountains, which afforded them pasturage. Indra, incensed at the loss of his offerings, opened the gates of heaven upon the whole race, and would have deluged them, had not our hero plucked up the mountain Govarddhana, and held it as a substantial umbrella above the land. He soon took to repose from his labours, and amused himself with the Gopís, or shepherdesses, of whom he married seven or eight, among whom Rádhá was the favourite, and to whom he taught the round dance called *Rása-*, or *Maṅḍala-nrityam*. Meanwhile Kansa had not forgotten the prophecies of Nárada. He invited the two boys, Krishña and Balaráma, to stay with him at Mathurá; they accepted, and went. At the gates, Kansa's washerman insulted Krishña, who slew him, and dressed himself in his yellow clothes. He afterwards slew Kansa himself, and placed his father Ugrasena on the throne. A foreign king of the Kálayavana (Indo-Scythian) race soon invaded the Yadu, or Áryan, territory, whereupon Krishña built and fortified the town of Dwáraka, in Guzerat, and thither transferred the inhabitants of Mathurá. He afterwards married Satyabhámá, daughter of Satrájit, and carried off Rukmiñí, daughter of Bhíshmaka. His harem numbered sixty thousand wives, but his progeny was limited to eighteen thousand sons. When afterwards on a visit to Indra's heaven,

CHAP. II. he behaved, at the persuasion of his wife, Satyabhámá, in a manner very unbecoming a guest, by stealing the famous Párijáta tree, which had been produced at the churning of the ocean, and was then thriving in Indra's garden. A contest ensued, in which Krishña defeated the gods, and carried off the sacred tree. At another time, a female Daitya, Ushá, daughter of Bána, carried off Krishña's grandson, Aniruddha. His grandfather, accompanied by Ráma, went to the rescue, and though Bána was defended by Śiva and Skanda, proved victorious. Pau draka, one of Vasudeva's family, afterwards assumed his title and insignia, supported by the king of Benares. Krishña hurled his flaming discus (*chakra*) at this city, and thus destroyed it. He afterwards exterminated his own tribe, the Yádavas. He himself was killed by a chance shot from a hunter. He is described as having curly black hair, as wearing a club or mace, a sword, a flaming discus, a jewel, a conch, and a garland. His charioteer is Sátyaki; his city, Dwáraka; his heaven, Goloka."

Resemblances to sacred history.

The reader will not fail to notice in this legend more than one exact coincidence with circumstances in the human history of our blessed Lord. Remote as are the main ideas which it embodies from the principles of Holy Writ, there is sufficient also of external correspondence to account for the alacrity with which the modern infidel has seized upon the tale of Krishña, and has tortured it into an argument against the truth of Christianity. Nor has the abstract I have just been quoting brought before us every minor point[1] in which the incidents of the Gospel are supposed to be as clearly visible. Other versions of the Krishña-legend tell us how, in addition to the marvellous birth at midnight, choirs of *dévatas*, resembling the angelic host of Bethlehem,

[1] See a pointed summary of these in Maurice's *Hist. of Hindústán*, II. 222, 223, Lond. 1820.

saluted the divine infant as soon as he was born. They give still greater prominence to the massacre of the innocents by Kansa, and his failing to secure possession of the child by whom he was at last to be supplanted. They narrate how, in the train of miracles that follow this deliverance, the young hero, to the great amazement of his parents and a troop of cowherds by whom he was attended, overcame the serpent Kálíya, and trampled on its head; while of particular acts ascribed to him in after-years by the compilers of the more expanded version of the story, the cleansing of lepers, the raising of the dead, his own descending to the world invisible and reascending to the proper paradise of Vish´u, are not the least conspicuous.

Heathen parallels.

It is true indeed that not a few of these minute resemblances to sacred history, if taken one by one, have also parallels in other realms of heathendom, and therefore may be possibly explained as merely outward and fortuitous, or else as borrowing their chief force from arbitrary combinations and the specious and deceptive colouring under which we are accustomed to present them. Two or three examples from Greek writers will best illustrate my meaning. If Krishña was violently persecuted in his infancy, it might be answered, so was Hercules exposed to the implacable rage of Juno. If Krishña, in his triumphs, comes before us crowned with flowers and at the head of dancing milkmaids and intoxicated satyrs, the description will apply to Bacchus also. If Krishña, veiling his divinity, is said to have been concealed beneath the roof of Nanda, the cowherd, Apollo, in like manner, acted like an ordinary mortal

CHAP. II. when he sought a shelter in the household of Admetus. Or again, if Krishṅa is to be regarded as a purely human and historical hero, doomed to death in childhood from forebodings that his life would prove the ruin of another, we can find his parallel in the elder Cyrus, who had also been entrusted to the care of herdsmen, to preserve him from the vengeance of his royal grandfather, whose death it was foretold he should eventually accomplish.

Probability of external communication between Krishṅaism and Christianity.

Yet in placing these analogies before the reader, as suggesting to one class of minds a *possible* medium for explaining the resemblances which form the subject of our investigation, I am willing to admit that such a method does not give what seems to me a satisfactory account of all the parallels in question, more especially when we include the minor topics furnished by more ample versions of the Krishṅa-legend. Many of these, I grant, might have been accidental; but *all* can scarcely be so treated, without violence to probability and ordinary experience. If then we adopt the theory of external intercourse as furnishing the simplest and most adequate explanation of the present phenomena, it must follow either that Christianity has borrowed from Hindúism or Hindúism from Christianity.

The revealed idea of Christ original.

Now the former supposition is at once repudiated by the fact that our doctrine of the Incarnation and Messiahship of Christ is perfectly original in itself and perfectly consistent with the language of the Hebrew prophets. Even the astounding incidents of the Saviour's childhood, which are thought to be most nearly related to the Krishṅa-legend, are proved, in our own Gospels, to have been foretold by men

who flourished long before the Bráhman had begun to dream of *avatáras:* and with reference to the Promise generally, its form was thoroughly *Hebrew*, interwoven from first to last with the exalted destinies of Abraham and David, pointing ever with a firmer hand and larger measure of illumination to the wondrous facts of Nazareth and Bethlehem, foreshadowing the persecutions which befel the Man of Sorrows as the necessary precondition of the 'glory that should follow;' and in all the course of this mysterious evolution, blending with itself no heterogeneous or extrinsic element, much less an element originating on the far-off borders of the Yamuná, and in the cloister of some Bráhman devotee.

Did Christianity modify the Krishna-legend?

But if the character of our Messianic doctrine be thus singular and self-consistent, and if all attempts to draw it out of foreign sources are discovered to be futile, what are we to think of the other hypothesis, according to which the Krishńa-legend is indebted for at least a portion of its richness and embellishment to influences diffused by Christianity? Can we offer any adequate explanation of the Christian elements in Krishńäism, by supposing that there was an actual intercourse of some kind or other between the two religions?

To answer this question, we must distinguish, in the first place, between Krishńa considered as an ancient hero, and the Krishńa who is ultimately said to be identical with the Supreme Being, and the leading member in a system of religion and philosophy.

Now that Krishńa, though unnoticed in the very oldest literature of India, may have already figured

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Krishnäism, properly so called, subsequent to Christianity.

as a local hero in the period preceding the Great War, and subsequently, as the Hercules of the Panjáb, may have attracted to himself the reverence of his fellow-countrymen, are suppositions by no means improbable. The allusion of Megasthenes[1] to some such hero, far surpassing other men in strength of mind and body, and especially distinguished by his zeal in purifying land and water and destroying every form of noxious animal, will bear to be interpreted of Krishńa, as well as Balaráma and the rest, whom popular superstition had exalted far above the rank of ordinary mortals. Yet this reference of the language has not been suffered to pass on without a challenge;[2] and other arguments, alleged in favour of the high antiquity of Krishńa, have been weakened more and more by modern criticism. When, for instance, he was represented as the central object[3] of the *Máhabhárata*, the statement was devoid of all solid basis. The real heroes of that poem are

[1] Megasthenis *Indica*, ed. Schwanbeck, p. 290: καθαρὰν ποιῆσαι τῶν θηρίων γῆν τε καὶ θάλατταν: cf. Lassen, I. 647, 648.

[2] Lassen, in replying to some of Weber's observations (cf. above, p. 256, n. 3) on the peculiarities of Krishńaïsm, investigates the origin of the Avatára-system (II. 1106 sq.), and concludes that the doctrine of Vishńu's incarnations was formed at least three centuries before the Christian era, although the number and order of such incarnations were first settled at a later period. To these arguments Weber has replied in detail (*Ind. Stud.* II. 409 sq.), questioning, among other things, the identity of Krishńa with the Indian Hercules of Greek writers. In any case, he argues, this hero or demi-god was no incarnation, in the proper sense of the language, and was very different from the Krishńa of later times. In the Avatára-system the grand peculiarity consisted not in the fact that some divinity assumed a human or animal form, and in it protected and purified the earth, but rather 'dass der Gott aus Mitleid mit der leidenden, aus Zorn gegen die sündige Menschheit *selbst* als Mensch geboren wird und ein menschliches Dasein führt.' (p. 411.)

[3] See, for instance, Elphinstone's *India*, p. 93, 3rd ed.; and a rectification of the statement in Lassen, I. 488.

the Páńdavas; and if it be remembered that of the 100,000 distichs in the poem only 24,000[1] can be shewn to have entered into the original composition; and further, that the tales relating to Krishńa's boyhood, his frolics at Vrindávan, and even his destruction of the Asuras, 'have all a modern complexion,'[2] we may fairly doubt if the author of the poem, as it stood at first, knew anything of Krishńa beyond his character of hero, prince, or chieftain. This, at least, may be regarded as extremely probable, *viz.* that the splendid episode (the *Bhagavad-Gítá*) which made us first acquainted with his claims to superhuman power and dignity, which first identified his being with that of the Supreme, and first brought out distinctly the idea of sympathy with the human species and of periodic births in order to promote their welfare, was composed as late as the third century of the Christian era. It may be inferred accordingly, that all our certain knowledge respecting Krishńa, in the times preceding the diffusion of the Gospel, is confined to very few particulars. He was, first of all, a man possessed of more than ordinary virtue and intelligence; and secondly, a hero acting as the leader of the shepherd-chieftains in his own immediate neighbourhood: and thirdly, a demigod or emanation, it may be, especially connected with Vishńu, and zealous for the purity and permanence of physical creation. As to the development of this idea and its amalgamation with the higher thoughts propounded in the *Bhagavad-Gítá*, I think them products of external agencies connected with the

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[1] Lassen, I. 484, 489.

[2] Wilson, *Pref.* to *Vishńu Puráńa*, p. lxxi. and p. 492, note.

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spread of Christianity. It has been shewn elsewhere how numerous, in the early ages of the Gospel, were the causes predisposing men to interchange religious speculations, and how numerous also were the channels by which intercourse might have been readily effected. I have also quoted[1] the opinion of a critic conspicuous in this field of ancient literature, who maintains that in one of the latest additions to the *Mahábhárata* allusion to such intercourse is clearly traceable, as well as hints of the effect produced by it, in modifying men's ideas of God, and also in imparting a fresh form and colour to the Hindú theory of incarnations. Nor is this opinion, in so far as Krishña is concerned, of recent origin. Sir William Jones, whose interest was excited by minute resemblances between the legend of Krishña in its newest form and certain narratives of Holy Writ, attempted to explain the 'motley story' on the supposition that 'spurious Gospels, which abounded in the first age of Christianity, had been brought to India, and the wildest part of them repeated to the Hindús, who engrafted them on the old fable of Céšava, the Apollo of Greece."[2] The same view has, in substance, been adopted by many other scholars,[3] who have also pointed out that one of the chief media by which Hindú mythographers obtained their knowledge of the early history of our Lord, and the peculiar source from which they borrowed hints for the embellishment of their story, was the *Evangelium Infantiæ*,[4] an apocryphal writing known originally by

Influence exerted by the spurious Gospels.

[1] Above, p. 260, n. 1.
[2] *Asiat. Resear.* I. 274.
[3] *e. g.* Maurice, *Hist. of Hindústán*, II. 218 sq. Lond. 1820.
[4] Printed in the *Codex Apocryphus*, ed. J. A. Fabricius, I. 127 sq.

the title of 'Gospel of St. Thomas,' and, perhaps from a supposed connexion with him, circulated at an early period on the coast of Malabar. It is significant also that this gospel was already current[1] among heretics, but reprobated by the Church herself, as early as the time of Irenæus, and was subsequently held in special honour by the followers of Mani,[2] and by other misbelievers like him; their object being, as we know, to blend the creed, the legends, and the institutes of paganism with some of the distinctive elements of supernatural religion.

Fundamental differences between Krishnáism and Christianity;

But leaving all these questions, as we must do, in comparative obscurity, it is important to observe that Krishñäism, when purged from all the lewd and Bacchanalian adjuncts which disfigure and debase it, comes indefinitely short of Christianity. Regarded in its brighter aspect, it will prove that man is far from satisfied with the prevailing forms of nature-worship, and is struggling to become more conscious of the personality of God, and panting for complete communion with Him. It recognises the idea of God descending to the level of the fallen creature and becoming man.[3] It welcomes Krishña as one realisation of this great idea, as the hero who was sent to lighten many a burden of pain and misery under which the universe was groaning, as the teacher

[1] *Adversus Hæres*, lib. I. c. 20, ed. Stieren.

[2] See the 'Testimonia' collected by Fabricius, pp. 133, 136, 138, 140. In the decree of Pope Gelasius, *De libris apocryphis*, it is called 'Evangelium nomine *Thomæ* apostoli, quo utuntur Manichæi.'

[3] See Wilson's *Vishñu Puráña*, p. 492, n. 3, where it is explained that although Krishña as to his human properties and condition was only 'a part of a part' (*anśáñśávatára*) of the supreme Brahma yet he was in reality 'the very supreme Brahma.' The commentator adds an observation acknowledging it to be 'a mystery how the supreme should assume the form of a man.'

CHAP. II. who alone could save mankind by pointing out a method of escape from the necessity of repeated births. These yearnings after something higher, purer, and more heavenly, are discernible at intervals amid the very sternest forms of pantheism; they bear witness, notwithstanding all the flagrant contradictions in the system with which they are connected, to a consciousness of moral guilt, as well as to a sense of physical evil; they give rise to the anticipation, that mankind will ultimately burst the trammels of their adversary and be reconciled to God.

on the subject of the Incarnation.

Yet, on the other hand, the dogma of Hindús, when measured by a Christian standard, is but shadowy and unsatisfying. The most perfect incarnation of Vishńu, as found in Krishńa, is *docetic* merely; it rather seems to be than is.[1] According to the theory of matter, which prevailed among his followers, the Divine and human could not truly come together, and could not permanently coexist. The one essentially excludes the other. Krishńa, therefore, on going back to his celestial home, or, in the language of philosophy, on his reabsorption into the Great Spirit of the universe, entirely lays aside the perishable flesh, which he had once inhabited. He quits his human body; he abandons 'the condition of the three-fold qualities;' he unites himself with 'his own pure, spiritual, inexhaustible, inconceivable, unborn, undecaying, imperishable and universal spirit, which is one with Vásudeva."[2] In this

[1] Dorner (*Lehre von der Person Christi*, I. 7 sq., Stuttgart, 1845) has some excellent remarks on this point.

[2] *Vishńu Pur.* ed. Wilson, p. 612. The death of Krishńa is here ascribed to a random shot of the hunter Jará (*i.e.* infirmity, old age, decay).

respect, he differs altogether from the God-Man of the Christian Church,—the Mediator in whom Divine and human are completely reconciled, the Meeting-point where earth and heaven, the finite and the Infinite, the personal and Absolute, have coalesced for ever, and are wedded in the bonds of an indissoluble union. And as one result of such imperfect and confused idea, it followed that the blessings said to have been brought by Krishña were not real and abiding: they could only last until the close of one particular age, or period, when the powers of evil, softened and repressed, but still, according to this view, incapable of subjugation, would break forth again with irresistible violence, and be everywhere triumphant. It is written in one of the *Puráñas:* 'The day that Krishña shall have departed from the earth will be the first of the Kali age.'[1]

[1] *Ibid.* p. 487. In like manner it is stated (p. 486), 'As long as the earth was touched by his sacred feet, the Kali age could not affect it.'

CHAPTER III.

Real Correspondencies between Hindúism and Revealed Religion.

'Nulla porro falsa doctrina est, quæ non aliqua vera intermisceat.'
ST. AUGUSTINE.

CHAP. III. *Unity of the human race.*

IT has been shewn[1] how various but converging arguments, for which we are indebted mainly to the light of modern science, have all tended to corroborate the scriptural narrative with reference to the common origin of men. Exactly therefore in proportion as this point has been established, it is likely that the different sections of the human family will preserve in their dispersion many an interesting fragment of primeval knowledge, and contribute to the reconstruction of primeval history. If all have radiated from one centre; if all inherit the same human faculties, and have been actuated by the same peculiar instincts, we shall be prepared to find, with local variations, and at different depths below the surface, many a link of that great chain which girdles the whole globe, and binds humanity together.

Proofs of common parentage may all indeed have

[1] Part I. ch. II.

been obscured and weakened by a multitude of dis- uniting agencies, as climate, isolation, force of character, and the like. Two stories of the ancient world may in the process of transmission have been blended into one. The names of persons may have been entirely lost or hopelessly corrupted. The scene of this or that catastrophe may have been altered for the gratification of individual caprice or national vanity. A race of simple shepherds, with none of the explicit guidance which is furnished by a written document, may have so magnified, embellished, and confused the stories and traditions of their ancestors, that all the ingenuity of modern criticism will prove unequal to the work of disentangling the historic from the mythic, and of weeding out the genuine from the false. Yet, notwithstanding these formidable obstructions, we are warranted, on the hypothesis of unity, in searching everywhere, as far as human steps have wandered, for remains of a substratum of primeval knowledge; confident that such remains had once extended on all sides with the extension of the human species, however much they are at present buried and corrupted, broken and displaced. And the tenacity with which the popular mind has ever clung to what is ancient and established, will further justify us in predicting that the many would retain their hold on the original traditions of the Indo-Áryan race, long after the philosopher had ceased to care about them, or provide a place for them in his new system of ethics and religion.

CHAP. III.

Transmission of religious knowledge.

Let us, then, inquire, as far as may be, whether such hints can be derived from any of the extant documents of India, and more particularly from one

Hindú reverence for tradition.

CHAP. III. class of writings, the Puráñic,[1] which, as meant for the instruction of the people, may be naturally expected to embody and reflect the popular traditions. We are not a little strengthened in these expectations by the fact that nearly all the ancient writings of Hindús, so far from advocating the notion that truth is self-evolved, or a discovery of the human reason,[2] recognise in God the only Source of supernatural teaching; and so far from urging that the present age alone is in possession of such teaching, they proclaim their frequent obligation to the purer wisdom of antiquity, and to the guidance of the 'sages who have delivered it to us.'[3] 'Truth,' they say, 'was originally deposited with men, but gradually slumbered and was forgotten: the knowledge of it returns like a recollection.'[4]

Points most likely to be transmitted.

Now the points that were most likely to be cherished in the memory of the ancient world were not so much the details of primeval history, as those marvellous and momentous facts, which, happening in the infancy of time, and prior to the date of the original dispersion, were supposed to bear directly on the hopes, and fears, and general fortunes of the human species, or were fitted by the startling or attractive shape which they assumed in primitive

[1] It is true, as I have more than once observed, that the Puráñas in their present form are thoroughly sectarian, and therefore must have been all modernized; but whenever the remodelling of them took place there can be no doubt that very old materials were extensively employed. See Prof. Wilson's Pref. to the *Vishńú Puráña*, p. lxiii.

[2] Thus, for example, it is expressly said by a philosopher, (*Sancara*, ed. Fr. Windischmann, p. 106), 'dass man nicht durch Vermittelung von Vernunftgründen, sondern durch Hülfe der von jeher überlieferten Lehren Brahma erreichen könne.'

[3] *Yajur-Véda*, xl. 10, 13, as quoted by Morris, *Essay*, p. 60.

[4] See Humboldt's *Cosmos*, II. 112, 113, Sabine's ed.

lays and legends to excite the cravings of the earnest heart, and fire the popular imagination. CHAP. III.

Such points are:

1. The primitive state of man.
2. His fall.
3. His punishment in the deluge.
4. The rite of sacrifice.
5. The primitive hope of restoration.

§ 1. *The primitive state of Man.*

The original pair.

Inconsistent as may be the various Hindú stories touching the creation of this visible universe, and the original innocence and dignity of men, 'it is not difficult,' writes a high authority,[1] 'to detect through all their embellishments and corruptions, the tradition of the *descent of mankind from a single pair*,[2] however much they have disguised it, by the misemployment of the figures of allegory and personification.'

According to one view, Brahmá, the god of creation, had converted himself into two persons, the first man, or the Manu Swáyambhuva, and the first woman, or Satarúpá:[3] this division into halves ex-

[1] Prof. Wilson, *Lectures*, p. 56. Buddhism, on the contrary, having lost all faith in a Creator, and contending that the rise and perishing of the world is 'by nature itself,' rejected the idea of an original pair. 'There was no such thing as that of the creation of the first man and woman.' Upham, *Sacred Books of Ceylon*, III. 1, 2, Lond. 1833. Yet this statement is somewhat modified, p. 17.

[2] 'There was formerly only one Véda, only one God, one fire, and one caste. From Purúravas came the triple Véda in the beginning of the Tréta age.' From the Bhágavata Puráña.

[3] *Vishńu Pur.* pp. 51, 52. In the *Laws of Manu*, (I. 32), the same notion is expressed in a somewhat different form. After stating (§ 31) that for the multiplication of the human race, the Creator caused the four castes to proceed respectively from his mouth, his arm, his thigh and his foot, it is added: 'Having divided his own substance, the mighty power Brahmá became half male and half female.'

CHAP. III. pressing, it would seem, the general distinction of corporeal substance into two sexes, and Satarúpá, as hinted by the etymology of the word itself, denoting the great universal mother, the one parent of a 'hundred forms.' A second representation is that, in the opening of the present *kalpa*, Brahmá created out of his own substance as many as a 'thousand pairs'[1] of each of the four classes, into which mankind has been distributed. But since these statements are both found at no great distance from each other in the same *Puráña*, they are probably intended to be reconciled by supposing that in the former case we have a Hindú reminiscence of the history of creation, and in the second an ideal picture of the primitive race of human beings. Be this, however, as it may, the Hindú legends are agreed in representing man as one of the last products of creative wisdom, as the master-work of God, and also in extolling the first race of men as pure and upright, innocent and happy. 'The beings who were thus created by Brahmá are all said to have been endowed with righteousness and perfect faith; they abode wherever they pleased, unchecked by any impediment; their hearts were free from guile; they were pure, made free from soil by observance of sacred institutes. In their sanctified minds Hari dwelt; and they were filled with perfect wisdom by which they contemplated the glory of Vishńu.'[2]

Innocence of primeval men.

Their noble origin.

The first men were accordingly the best. The Krita age, 'the age of truth,' the reign of purity, in which mankind, as it came forth from the Creator, was not divided into numerous conflicting orders, and in

[1] *Vishńu Pur.* p. 45 and n. 4. [2] *Ibid.*

which the different faculties of man all worked harmoniously together, was a thought that lay too near the human heart to be uprooted by the ills and inequalities of actual life. In this the Hindú sided altogether with the Hebrew, and as flatly contradicted the unworthy speculations of the modern philosopher, who would fain persuade us that human beings have not issued from one single pair, and also that the primitive type of men is scarcely separable from that of ordinary animals. In the former of these conclusions it is true he may appeal on his behalf to theorisings of the Buddhists; but with reference to the latter, they also were equally unable to cast off the tenets of their forefathers. It is held that a distinguished group of beings (*brahmas*) whose merit was insufficient to support them any longer in superior worlds,[1] took refuge on the earth, and as the lustre of their ancient greatness lingered round about them, they retained one class of superhuman attributes; they were able to subsist without food, and gifted with the power of passing through the air at will. No change of seasons, and no alternation of night and day could be experienced in their neighbourhood; and free from all the present accidents of humanity, they lived for ages in unbroken peace and inexhaustible felicity. Whether this legend of the *brahmas* be regarded as an echo of some old tradition pointing to the first estate of men, or to the fall of angels, is comparatively immaterial: it evinces a belief that primitive inhabitants of the earth ranked higher than the beasts that perish, and were strangers to the guilt

Buddhist legend.

[1] Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 64.

CHAP. III. and darkness which have pressed so heavily on their descendants.

Bráhmanical reminiscences of Paradise.

The Bráhman and the Buddhist, in like manner, have preserved some recollections of the nature of the spot in which those first inhabitants were planted. According to legends of the former,[1] the abode of man in his primeval innocence was the fabled mount Méru the 'centre' of the globe. 'It is a high and beauteous mountain. From the glittering surface of its peaks the sun diffuses light into the far-off regions. Arrayed in gold it forms a worthy habitation for the *dévas* and *gandharvas*. Hideous dragons guard this mountain; they frighten back the sinner who ventures to approach it. The sides are covered over with plants of heavenly origin; and no finite thought can soar as high as the cloud-piercing summit. It is adorned with graceful trees and limpid waters; and on every side resounds the music of the birds.' To this description of the *Mahábhárata*, some other features may be added from different sources. The position of Méru is in the centre of a region called Ilávrita;[2] it is said to be enclosed by the river Ganges, 'which, issuing from the foot of Vishńu, and washing the lunar orb, falls here from the skies, and, after encircling the city, divides into four mighty rivers, flowing in opposite directions.'[3] On the summit of the mountain is the dwelling-place of Śiva, as well as the capital of Brahmá. There also

[1] See Lüken's *Traditionen des Menschengeschlechts*, pp. 65, 66, Münster, 1856; Faber's *Origin of Pagan Idolatry*, I. 314 sq. Lond. 1816, and Bähr's *Symbolik des Mosaischen Cultus*, I. 168. Heidelberg, 1837.

[2] Mr. Faber attempts, but unsuccessfully, to connect this name *Ilávrita*, which he also writes *Ida-Vratta*, with *Eden*. (I. 326.)

[3] *Vishńu Pur.* ed. Wilson, pp. 169, 170.

is the home of blessed spirits; there is Nandana, the grove of Indra,[1] and there the Jambu-tree,[2] whose apples, large as elephants, feed the Jambu-river with their juices, and secure to all who drink of it unvarying health and happiness, and exemption from all physical decay. It is manifest that the scene of all this blessedness was placed by the Hindú mythographers among the lofty peaks of the Himálaya. In sight of them the Áryan had originally settled when he crossed the alpine frontier; and as time went over, and his children were still further severed from the primitive haunts of man, the glorious high-lands of the north were peopled by his ever active imagination with groups of mythic beings. There was the locality from which the founders of the Indo-Aryan race had issued: and there the theatre on which, according to his dreams, had been enacted all the mysteries of the ancient world. Those legends, therefore, notwithstanding a huge mass of wild exaggerations, will bear witness to primeval verities. They intimate how in the background of man's visions lay a Paradise of holy joy,—a Paradise secured from every kind of profanation, and made inaccessible to the guilty; a Paradise full of objects that were calculated to delight the senses and to elevate the mind; a Paradise that granted to its tenant rich and rare immunities, and that fed with its perennial streams the tree of life and immortality. The waters also of Ilávrita, divided as they were into four channels, and flowing towards the cardinal points, may not unnaturally suggest comparison with the primitive river that 'went out of Eden to water the

[1] *Ibid.* p. 169.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 168.

CHAP. III. garden; and from thence was parted and became into four heads' (Gen. ii. 10): although in course of time, when mount Méru was commonly identified with the summits of the Hindú Alps, we might expect that those four streams would in like manner be discovered in the principal rivers that descend from the Himálaya.[1]

Buddhist reminiscences of Paradise.

This legend of the Bráhmans in the hands of Buddhist rivals has been subjected to fresh embellishment. The latter in depicting Mahá-Méru, informs us[2] of 'square-faced inhabitants,' who are exempted from all kinds of sickness, and from other evils incident to humanity. 'They do not perform any kind of work, as they receive all they want, whether as to ornaments, clothes, or food, from a tree called *kalpa-wurksha*. This tree is 100 yojanas high, and when the people require anything, it is not necessary that they should go to it to receive it, as the tree extends its branches, and gives whatever is desired. When they wish to eat, food is at that instant presented; and when they wish to lie down, couches at once appear. There is no relationship, as to father, mother, or brother. The women are more beautiful than the *dévas*. There is no rain, and no houses are required. In the whole region there is no low place or valley. It is like a wilderness of pearls; and always free from all impurities, like the court of a temple or a wall of crystal. The

[1] The names of the rivers in the *Vishńu Puráńa* are the Sitá (the river of China, or Hoangho), the Alakanandá (a main branch of the Ganges), the Chakshu (? the Oxus), and the Bhadrá (the Oby of Siberia): see Prof. Wilson's note, p. 171. The Buddhists also have their four holy rivers, and place the sacred garden at the foot of mount Méru, towards the south-west, and at the source of the Ganges: Faber, I. 325.

[2] Hardy's *Manual of Buddhism*, pp. 14, 15.

inhabitants live to be a thousand years old; and all this time they enjoy themselves like the *dévas*, by means of their own merit and with the assistance of the kalpa-tree.' CHAP. III.

§ 2. *The Fall of Man.*

But while so many legends of the ancient Áryan intimate with singular unanimity that man as he came forth from his Creator was both innocent and happy; while they point us to an age of truth, of light, of perfectness, and lead us backward to a spot, whose primal beauties were unsullied by the breath of physical and moral evil, they have spoken as distinctly of some fearful retrogression, of degeneracy without us and within us, of bodily decay, of mental obscuration, of estrangement from the Source of Life, and of expulsion from our first inheritance. 'The deep sense of this fact,' writes Coleridge,[1] 'and the doctrines grounded on obscure traditions of the promised remedy, are seen struggling, and now gleaming, now flashing, through the mist of pantheism, and producing the incongruities and gross contradictions of the Bráhman mythology: while in the rival sect,—in that most strange phenomenon, the religious atheism of the Buddhists, with whom God is only universal matter considered abstractedly from all particular forms—the fact is placed among the delusions natural to man.'

General form of the Hindú doctrine.

If we consider only the more popular doctrine of the Bráhmans, it is found to be in substance that which has impressed itself on all religions of an-

[1] *Aids to Reflection*, I. 225, 226, Pickering's ed.

CHAP. III. tiquity, and forms the basis of all creeds whatever: *viz.* that sufferings were entailed upon the world at large by the disordered will or appetite of individuals, impelling them to seek for gratification by eating of some interdicted products of the soil. This vivid consciousness of retrogression, in its moral aspect, was obscured, indeed, from time to time by the Hindú philosopher, who, advancing from pantheistic premises, adopted the well-known hypothesis of chronological cycles. In his teaching every perfect revolution in the fortunes of the universe (*mahá-yuga*) is divided into four shorter periods,[1] which are each in turn invested with specific qualities corresponding to assumed distinctions in the general history of man. Thus, after the Krita or Satya-age, when everything is true and perfect, comes the Tretá-yuga, or age of sacrifice, when virtue having 'lost one foot' and the divine ingredient in our spirit[2] waxing feeble, 'the innate perfectness of human nature is no more evolved.' After this appears the Dwápara-age, the age of doubt, of scepticism, of infidelity; and last of all the Kali-age, through which the world is said

Chronological cycles.

[1] *Vishńu Pur.* Book I. chap. iii. As Professor Wilson remarks, 'It does not seem necessary to refer the invention [of these cycles] to any astronomical computations, or to any attempt to represent actual chronology.'

[2] Vishńu on becoming subject to the conditions of time (Kála) is said to have himself 'infused into created beings sin, as yet feeble though formidable, or passion and the like.' (*Ibid.* p. 45.) This led directly to the loss of the eight kinds of perfection, which the human race had once enjoyed: (1) *Rasollásá*, the spontaneous or prompt evolution of the juices of the body, independently of nutriment from without: (2) *Tripti*, mental satisfaction, or freedom from sensual desire: (3) *Sámya*, sameness of degree: (4) *Tulyatá*, similarity of life, form and feature: (5) *Visoká*, exemption alike from infirmity or grief: (6) Consummation of penance and mediation, by attainment of true knowledge: (7) The power of going everywhere at will: (8) The faculty of reposing at any time and in any place.

to be at present passing, when the powers of darkness and disorder have become predominant in the soul of man, and when external nature groans beneath the burden of iniquity. CHAP. III.

More precise traditions of the Brâhmans.

Yet side by side with such elaborate theories on the origin of evil and the probable course of its development from generation to generation, there lingered in the memory of Hindús a far more definite knowledge of primeval history, and of the agencies through which the present lot of man was rendered so abnormal. They had learned that human misery is the fruit of disobedience; that the physical ills of life originate in moral delinquency, and that of parent sins, by which the world at large was ultimately overrun, the chief are pride and self-complacency, ambition, and self-worship. One legend out of many shall be cited in illustration of this topic. As the old traditions of their ancestors were gradually distorted, the Hindús appear to have identified the first man (Manu Swáyambhuva) with Brahmá himself, of whom, as of the primary cause, he was the brightest emanation; while Śatarúpá, the wife and counterpart of Manu, was similarly converted into the bride of the creative principle itself. Brahmá, in other words, was 'confounded with the male half of his individuality,'[1] so that the narratives which in sacred history relate to Adam and Eve, were not unfrequently transferred to Brahmá and to his female counterpart,—Śatarúpá, or, according to a different form, Saraswatí. Brahmá thus humanized is said to have become the subject of temptation.[2]

[1] *Ibid.* p. 53, note.

[2] The story is thus extracted in Lüken's *Traditionen des Menschengeschlechts*, pp. 83, 84.

CHAP. III. To try him, Śiva, who is, in the present story, identified with the Supreme Being, drops from heaven a blossom of the sacred *vaṭa*, or Indian fig,—a tree which has been always venerated by the natives on account of its gigantic size and grateful shadow, and invested alike by Bráhman and by Buddhist with mysterious significations,[1] as 'the tree of knowledge or intelligence' (*bódhidruma*). Captivated by the beauty of this blossom, the first man (Brahmá) is determined to possess it. He imagines that it will entitle him to occupy the place of the Immortal and hold converse with the Infinite: and on gathering up the blossom, he at once becomes intoxicated by this fancy, and believes himself immortal and divine. But ere the flush of exultation has subsided, God Himself appears to him in terrible majesty, and the astonished culprit, stricken by the curse of heaven, is banished far from Brahmapattana and consigned to an abyss of misery and degradation. From this, however, adds the story, an escape is rendered possible on the expiration of some weary term of suffering and of penance. And the parallelism which it presents to sacred history is well-nigh completed when the legend tells us further that woman, his own wife, whose being was derived from his, had instigated the ambitious hopes which led to their expulsion, and entailed so many ills on their posterity.

Buddhist traditions.

It is also worthy of remark, that Buddhism, in spite of deep and fundamental misconceptions,[2] has retained at least a glimmering of primeval truth in reference to the fall of man as well as to his origin

[1] Lassen, I. 255—260. Hardy's *Manual*, pp. 65, 66.

[2] See above, p. 226; and

and loftier destinies. The Buddhists of Ceylon, for instance, have been taught that a class of spirits, who survived the wreck of previous worlds and systems, had, on their migration to the human sphere of being, lost another portion of their primal dignity. They were deprived of their perfections, we are told, by reason of 'their covetousness and by eating of all sorts of food, which lust effected in them. Thus they became man and woman, according to their fate, from whom we have all proceeded.'[1] CHAP. III.

Brâhmanical doctrine of the Tempter.

But while some Hindú philosophers attributed the fall of man to a necessity inherent in the very nature of all finite emanations; while others saw in it the consequence of our association with time and matter; and while a third division, more alive to the realities of life and to the moral bearings of the fall, were willing to regard it as a penalty incurred by guilty spirits in a previous stage of their existence, the majority of the people clung more closely to traditions of their ancestors. The Buddhist, it is true, denied emphatically that the origin of evil is ascribable to any cause except 'the mischievous and corrupted temper of man:'[2] but in the creed of popular Bráhmanism, the sin of our first parents was traced up directly to the guile and malice of a tempter, not within us but without us. The tempter was, in form at least, a serpent. 'Almost all the nations of Asia,' is the forced confession of a modern rationalist,[3]

[1] *Sacred Books of Ceylon*, ed. Upham, III. 17.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 157. When the further question is asked, 'Is the devil, or any other powerful spirit, the cause of sin?'—the Buddhist is taught to answer, 'by no means.'

[3] Von Bohlen, *Das alte Indien*, I. 248: cf. Hävernick, *Intr.* I. *to the Pentateuch*, p. 101 (Edinb. 1850), where the fact that local peculiarities are wanting in the Hebrew narrative is referred to as a proof of its originality.

CHAP. III. 'assume the serpent to be a wicked being, which has brought evil into the world.' 'How strangely,' writes a second,[1] 'is the serpent everywhere mixed up with the development of the religious sentiment in man.' As such it had become, in almost every part of heathendom, an object of religious worship,[2] or, to speak more properly, a symbol of those deadly and terrific powers, which, present (as men thought) in serpents, were the objects of continual dread, and therefore, of religious deprecation. Serpents may indeed have been occasionally welcomed by the ancient Áryan as the bringers or restorers of good fortune, just as they are sometimes fed in our day with reluctant interest at the doors of Hindú cottages and temples; but the common attitude which they assume in all descriptions both of ancient and modern writers is one of absolute antagonism to man. The Hindú serpent is the type and emblem of the evil principle in nature; and as such, we see it wrestling with the goddess Parvatí, or writhing under the victorious foot of Krishṇa when he saves from its corrupting breath the herds that pasture near the waters of the Yamuná. And as a further illustration of this view, it is contended, that many Hindús who feel themselves constrained to pay religious worship to the serpent, regard it, notwithstanding, as a hideous reptile, whose approach inspires them with a secret awe and insurmountable horror.

The serpent considered as an image of matter generally.

But it may be necessary to investigate these questions somewhat more particularly, for the purpose of discriminating, if possible, between the character of

[1] Priaulx, *Quæstiones Mosaicæ*, p. 85, Lond. 1842.

[2] See Deane's *Worship of the Serpent*, pp. 65 sq. Lond. 1830.

the serpent when it forms the subject of a Hindú mythe, and when the subject of a Hindú legend. According to the first view, it is believed to be a symbol of primitive matter generally; according to the second, it is an image of the evil spirit, the seducer and arch-enemy of man. We are reminded[1] that anterior to the human epoch when Brahma is still sleeping on the waters and preparing to diffuse himself through all the various orders of creation, the *dévas* already brought into existence are anxious to ascertain what part has been reserved for them in the ensuing process. They petition the Great Father of beings (*Mahápitri*), and are made at his suggestion to precipitate themselves upon the earth in the shape of material elements, fire, air, water, and the like, with Indra as their head and leader. At this epoch also comes into the world the chief of the serpents (Kulikétu),[2] who has soon occasion to complain most bitterly to the Lord of the universe, that, for no fault of his, he was continually tormented by the Suras,—or inferior gods inhabiting *Swarga* and composing the great army led by Indra in his conflict with the Asuras. In answer to the prayer of Kulikétu, Brahma is said to have enjoined that he should henceforth receive adoration like the *dévas* from each human being, and that mortals who refused to pay such worship to him, should be cut off by some unnatural death and made incapable of rising higher in the scale of created beings.

I think it not improbable that the right interpret-

[1] See an interesting paper *Sur le Mythe du Serpent chez les Hindous*, in the *Journal Asiatique*, Mai-Juin, 1855, pp. 469—529.

[2] The same as Kulika, one of the chiefs of the Nágas, or serpents: *Ibid.* p. 481.

CHAP. III. ation of this mythe is one which has already been suggested. It directs us to behold in Kulikétu an emblem of the earth before it had been subjected to human culture, when it felt itself tormented by the Suras, or, in other words, assaulted by the armies of the firmament,—the rain, the lightning, and the tempest. In the midst of this disorder, man, who had been hitherto regardless of the soil on which his lot is cast, and the material out of which his body is constructed, was bidden by the Lord of creation to render homage to the powers and processes of nature, to propitiate the ungenial elements, and welcome in all forms around him the immediate presence of Divinity.

The serpent considered as an image of the devil.

According therefore to this mythe the serpent was not absolutely and directly charged with the origination of all evils; yet suspicions of such agency were nevertheless implied from first to last in the conception of the story. There was lurking under its fantastic imagery an idea that matter in the whole compass and duration of it was intrinsically evil; and might therefore be identified with that which was the recognised embodiment of the evil principle. And other tales of ancient India bring this truth before us in the greatest prominence. Side by side with representations of the serpent as a type of primitive matter was unfolded the analogous conception of him as *the* enemy of the human race.[1] For instance, at the opening of the *Mahábhárata* itself, we find a touching illustration of this subject. The young and beautiful Pramadvará has been affianced to the Bráhman Ruru, but just before the celebration

[1] *Ibid.* p. 488.

of their nuptials she is bitten by a deadly serpent and expires in agony. As tidings of her death are carried round the neighbourhood, the Bráhmans and aged hermits flock together; and encircling the corpse of the departed mingle their tears with those of her disconsolate lover. Ruru is himself made eloquent by grief; he pleads the gentleness of his nature, and his dutiful observance of the laws of God: and finally, as the reward of his superior merits, Pramadvará is given back to him; yet only with the sad condition that he must surrender for her sake the half of his remaining lifetime. If this legend will not altogether justify the supposition[1] that a reference is intended by it to the primitive pair of human beings, whose existence was cut short by a disaster inflicted on the woman by the serpent, it may serve at least to shew us how familiar was the Hindú mind with such a representation, and how visions of the fall of man had never ceased to flit with more or less confusion across the memory of the ancient bards.

§ 3. *The Hindú version of the Deluge.*

Importance of the Deluge.

I shall not ask the reader to investigate a series of those minor points in which attempts are made to institute a clear connexion between the earliest Hindú

[1] 'N'y a-t-il point, dans cette donnée, comme un ressouvenir du couple primitif condamné à une vie courte et précaire à cause de la femme surprise par le serpent? ... Dans la légende indienne, comme dans la fable grecque [*i. e.* of Orpheus and Eurydice], comme dans le récit biblique, c'est à la femme que le serpent s'adresse; il la choisit pour première victime, parcequ'elle est moins prudente, moins ferme en ses pensées que l'homme, son maître et son appui. Et dans quelles circonstances encore? Lorsque le bonheur sourit aux jeunes couples, et qu'aucun malheur ne semble les menacer de près ni de loin.' *Ibid.* pp. 490, 491.

CHAP. III. legends and corresponding pages in the Scriptural history of man. But there is one catastrophe which, if the record of it in the Book of Genesis be accepted, could not fail to make a most profound impression in all quarters of the globe which had been visited by human footsteps. That catastrophe is the Deluge. The annals of the world begin afresh in Noah. The ark in which he rode securely to his destination is the second birth-place of the human family.

Now here again it is important to observe, that the Hindú traditions, notwithstanding the grotesque embellishments they underwent, from time to time, at the hands of the mythographers, were all in close accordance with the principal facts of revelation. They inform us how, amid an age of deep corruption, when the world was drowned by the avenging waters of a deluge, the Deity Himself came down to earth, in order to ensure the preservation of a righteous king, Manu, and to deposit with him in a ship the seeds of all created beings. Like other legends of antiquity, the present one has varied greatly with the lapse of ages, and been coloured by the varying conceptions of the people among whom it was diffused. I shall first extract[1] the popular, or Puráñic, version which, as might have been anticipated, is the most exuberant of the forms transmitted to us:

Modern form of the Hindú legend.

"Desiring the preservation of herds, and of Bráhmans, of genii and of virtuous men, of the Védas, of law, and of precious things, the Lord of the universe assumes many bodily shapes: but, though he pervades, like the air, a variety of beings, yet he is himself unvaried, since he has no quality subject to change. At the close of the last Kalpa, there was a general destruction

[1] *Asiat. Researches*, I. 230 sq.

occasioned by the sleep of Brahmá; whence his creatures in different worlds were drowned in a vast ocean. Brahmá, being inclined to slumber, desiring repose after a lapse of ages, the strong demon Hayagríva came near him, and stole the Védas which had flowed from his lips. When Hari, the preserver of the universe, discovered this deed of the prince of Dánavas, he took the shape of a minute fish called Sap'harí. A holy king, named Satyavrata, then reigned; a servant of the spirit which moved on the waves, and so devout that water was his only sustenance. He was the child of the Sun; and, in the present Kalpa, is invested by Naráyaña in the office of Manu, by the name of Sráddhadéva, or the god of obsequies. One day, as he was making a libation in the river Kritamála, and held water in the palm of his hand, he perceived a small fish moving in it. The king of Dravira immediately dropped the fish into the river together with the water, which he had taken from it; when the Sap'harí thus pathetically addressed the benevolent monarch: 'How canst thou, O king, who shewest affection to the oppressed, leave me in this river-water, where I am too weak to resist the monsters of the stream, who fill me with dread?' He, not knowing who had assumed the form of a fish, applied his mind to the preservation of the Sap'harí, both from good nature, and from regard to his own soul; and, having heard its very suppliant address, he kindly placed it under his protection in a small vase full of water; but, in a single night, its bulk was so increased, that it could not be contained in the jar, and thus again addressed the illustrious prince: 'I am not pleased with living miserably in this little vase; make me a large mansion, where I may dwell in comfort.' The king, removing it thence, placed it in the water of a cistern; but it grew three cubits in less than fifty minutes, and said: 'O king, it pleases me not to stay vainly in this narrow cistern; since thou hast granted me an asylum, give me a spacious habitation.' He then removed it, and placed it in a pool; where, having ample space around its body, it became a fish of considerable size. 'This abode, O king, is not convenient for me, who must swim at large in the waters: exert thyself for my safety, and remove me to a deep lake.' Thus addressed, the pious monarch threw the suppliant into a lake; and, when it grew of equal

CHAP. III. bulk with that piece of water, he cast the vast fish into the sea. When the fish was thrown into the waves, he thus again spoke to Satyavrata: 'Here the horned sharks, and other monsters of great strength, will devour me; thou shouldest not, O valiant man, leave me in this ocean.' Thus repeatedly deluded by the fish who had addressed him with gentle words, the king said: 'Who art thou, that beguilest me in that assumed shape? Never before have I seen or heard of so prodigious an inhabitant of the waters, who, like thee, hast filled up in a single day a lake of a hundred leagues in circumference. Surely thou art Bhagavat, who appearest before me; the great Hari, whose dwelling was on the waves, and who now, in compassion to thy servants, bearest the form of the natives of the deep. Salutation and praise to thee, O first male; the lord of creation, of preservation, of destruction! Thou art the highest object, O supreme ruler, of us thy adorers who piously seek thee. All thy delusive descents in this world give existence to various beings; yet I am anxious to know for what cause that shape has been assumed by thee. Let me not, O lotus-eyed, approach in vain the feet of a deity, whose perfect benevolence has been extended to all; when thou hast shewn, to our amazement, the appearance of other bodies, not in reality existing but successively exhibited.' The lord of the universe, loving the pious man who thus implored him, and intending to preserve him from the sea of destruction caused by the depravity of the age, thus told him how he was to act. 'In seven days from the present time, O thou tamer of enemies, the three worlds will be plunged in an ocean of death; but, in the midst of the destroying waters, a large vessel, sent by me for thy use, shall stand before thee. Then shalt thou take all medicinal herbs, all the variety of seeds; and, accompanied by seven saints, encircled by pairs of all brute animals, thou shalt enter the spacious ark, and continue in it, secure from the flood, on one immense ocean, without light, except the radiance of thy holy companions. When the ship shall be agitated by an impetuous wind, thou shalt fasten it with a large sea-serpent on my horn; for I will be near thee: drawing the vessel with thee and thy attendants, I will remain on the ocean, O chief of men, until a night of Brahmá shall be completely ended. Thou shalt then know

my true greatness, rightly named the supreme godhead. By my favour all thy questions shall be answered, and thy mind abundantly instructed.' Hari, having thus directed the monarch, disappeared; and Satyavrata humbly waited for the time, which the ruler of our senses had appointed. The pious king, having scattered towards the east the pointed blades of the grass *darbha*, and turning his face towards the north, sat meditating on the feet of the god who had borne the form of a fish. The sea, overwhelming its shores, deluged the whole earth; and it was soon perceived to be augmented by showers from immense clouds. He, still meditating on the command of Bhagavat, saw the vessel advancing, and entered it with the chiefs of Bráhmans, having carried into it the medicinal creepers and conformed to the directions of Hari. The saints thus addressed him: 'O king, meditate on Kéśava; who will surely deliver us from this danger, and grant us prosperity.' The god, being invoked by the monarch, appeared again distinctly on the vast ocean in the form of a fish, blazing like gold, extending a million of leagues, with one stupendous horn: on which the king, as he had been before commanded by Hari, tied the ship with a cable made of a vast serpent, and, happy in his preservation, stood praising the destroyer of Madhu. When the monarch had finished his hymn, the primeval male, Bhagavat, who watched for his safety on the great expanse of water, spoke aloud to his own divine essence, pronouncing a sacred Puráńa, which contained the rules of the Sánkhya philosophy: but it was an infinite mystery to be concealed within the breast of Satyavrata; who, sitting in the vessel with the saints, heard the principle of the soul, the Eternal Being, proclaimed by the preserving power. Then Hari, rising together with Brahmá from the destructive deluge which was abated, slew the demon Hayagríva, and recovered the sacred books. Satyavrata, instructed in all divine and human knowledge, was appointed in the present Kalpa, by the favour of Vishńu, the seventh Manu, surnamed Vaivaswata: but the appearance of a horned fish to the religious monarch was Máyá or delusion; and he, who shall devoutly hear this important allegorical narrative, will be delivered from the bondage of sin."

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Peculiar characteristics of this legend:

This Puráñic version of the Deluge (for to that catastrophe alone has any of our modern scholars ventured to refer it) is, according to its own admission, coloured and disguised by allegorical imagery. It avows, for instance, that one prominent object in the picture, the phenomenon of the horned Fish, is *máyá*, or is based upon illusory ideas; while other features of it have an air of gloom and mysticism peculiar to productions of the Hindú mind in the ascetical, or Yoga, period of its history. There is, however, a different version[1] of the legend, shorter and far less ornate, in one of the great epic poems of India. That version contains no reference either to the sleep of Brahmá, the pilfering of the Védas, or the systems of Hindú chronology, which, as resting on the thought of a succession of similar worlds, may have themselves been primarily suggested by the story of the Deluge.[2] It is further silent with regard to the specific power by which Manu was able to collect together seeds of all existing things: nor was the author of it acquainted with those mighty serpents, who, in the Puráñic version, are said to have approached Manu and acted as the cords by which his ark was fastened to the horns of the enormous Fish. In one case also, it is Vishñu that becomes incarnate, mainly with the purpose of preserving the integrity of the Védas; in the other, it is Brahma, or the 'Lord of all things,' who is mercifully stooping to

A second version.

[1] Edited by Bopp, Berlin, 1829, with the title, *Die Sündfluth, nebst drei anderen der wichtigsten Episoden des Mahá-Bhárata.* The writer of this version, as it now stands, is made to refer, as his authority, to the account of the Matsya avatára, which has been given above; but Prof. Wilson argues (Pref. to *Vishñu Puráña*, p. li.) that the story in the *Mahábhárata* is really more ancient.

[2] Cf. Lüken *Traditionen des Menschengeschlechts*, pp. 187, 188.

the level of the creatures for the rescue of his uncorrupted servant. CHAP. III.

Still the outlines of the legend are precisely the same in both versions; and their close resemblance to each other, and also to the scriptural narrative of the Deluge, has induced a recent critic[1] to conclude that all the knowledge of this subject which Hindús have ever manifested was originally derived from a Semitic source. He has not, however, specified a channel, by which the transfer was likely to be effected; and if his meaning be that some account of the Deluge was first transmitted to the Panjáb in comparatively modern times, the conjecture is not only in itself improbable, but adverse to Hindú traditions. Another of these was happily brought to light a few years ago by the publication of the Yajur-Véda. Appended to it is an ancient commentary, the *Satapat'ha-Bráhmaña*,[2] in which the Hindú story of the Deluge is again presented to us in a still simpler dress, and what is worthy of especial notice, accompanied by allusions which imply that Áryans had themselves referred the Deluge to a high antiquity, and also had retained a glimmering consciousness of some connexion between it and their migrations from the northern side of the Himálaya. *A third version.*

I am induced to give this legend also in its entirety, that ample means may be afforded for ascertaining what the Áryan of an early day had handed *Version of the* Satapat'ha Bráhmaña.

[1] Burnouf, *Bhágavata-Purána*, Tome III. Pref. pp. xxiii. sq., where the points of divergence between the Puráñic and the Epic legends are fully pointed out. 'In the ancient historical fragments [preserved in Josephus] of the Assyrian or Babylonian history belonging to the Semitic race, the Hindú fable has a close parallel in the story of Xisuthrus and his flood, and the fish-god Oannes.' Prichard, III. 198.

[2] Weber's *Ind. Stud.* I. 161 sq.

CHAP. III. down to his posterity in reference to the marvels of the Flood, its nature and its consequences:

"One morning the servants of Manu brought him water for ablutions, as the custom is to bring it in our day when men's hands have to be washed. As he proceeded to wash himself he found a fish in the water, which spoke to him, saying, 'Protect me and I will be thy Saviour.' 'From what wilt thou save me?' 'A deluge will ere long destroy all living creatures, but I can save thee from it.' 'What protection, then, dost thou ask of me?' 'So long as we are little,' replied the Fish, 'a great danger threatens us, for one fish will not scruple to devour another. At first, then, thou canst protect me by keeping me in a vase. When I grow bigger, and the vase will no longer hold me, dig a pond, and protect me by keeping me in it; and when I shall have become too large for the pond, then throw me into the sea; for henceforward I shall be strong enough to protect myself against all evils.' The Fish ere long became enormous (*jhasha*), for it grew very fast, and one day it said to Manu, 'In such a year will come the deluge; call to mind the counsel I have given thee; build a ship, and when the deluge comes, embark on the vessel thou hast built, and I will preserve thee.' Manu, after feeding and watching the Fish, at last threw it into the sea, and in the very year the Fish had indicated, he prepared a ship and had recourse [in spirit] to his benefactor. When the flood came, Manu went on board the ship. The Fish then reappeared and swam up to him, and Manu passed the cable of his vessel round its horn, by means of which he was transferred across yon Northern Mountain. 'I have saved thee,' said the Fish, 'now lash thy vessel to a tree, else the water may still carry thee away, though thy vessel be moored upon the mountain. When the water has receded, then also mayest thou disembark.' Manu implicitly obeyed the order, and hence that northern mountain still bears the name of 'Manu's descent'[1] (*Manor avasarpaṇam*). The

[1] In the *Mahábhárata* the name of the mountain is Naubandhana (= 'ship-bond'); and, what is very remarkable, Manu is there supposed to be resident in India when the deluge comes, and to be carried by it as far as Mount Himavat; whereas in this version of the story, it is implied that his original seat was on the *north* of

deluge swept away all living creatures; Manu alone survived it. His life was then devoted to prayer and fasting in order to obtain posterity. He made the Páka-sacrifice;[1] he offered to the Waters the clarified butter, cream, whey, and curdled milk. His offerings were continued, and at the end of a year he thereby fashioned for himself a wife:[2] she came dripping out of the butter; it trickled on her footsteps. Mitra and Varuńa approached her and asked 'Who art thou?' She answered, 'The daughter of Manu.' 'Wilt thou be our daughter?' 'No,' the answer was: 'My owner is the author of my being.' Their solicitations were all vain; for she moved directly onward till she came to Manu. On seeing her, he also asked her, 'Who art thou?' And she answered, 'Thine own daughter.' 'How so, beloved, art thou really my daughter?' 'Yes; the offerings thou hast made to the Waters, the clarified butter, the cream, the whey, and the curdled milk have brought me into being. I am the completion of thy vows. Approach me during the sacrifice. If so, thou shalt be rich in posterity and in flocks. The desire which thou art cherishing shall be entirely accomplished.' Thus was Manu wedded to her in the midst of the sacrifice, that is, between the ceremonies that denote the opening and the close of it. With her he lived in prayer and fasting, ever-anxious to obtain posterity: and she became the mother of the present race of men which even now is called the race of Manu. The vows which he had breathed in concert with her were all perfectly accomplished."

the Himálaya range, and that he crossed over from thence into India (*atidúdráva*): see Weber, p. 165.

[1] 'The *Pákayajna*, or sacrifice in which food is offered, implies either the worship of the Viśwadévas, the rites of hospitality, or occasional oblations, or building a house, the birth of a child, or any occasion of rejoicing.' Wilson, *Vish. Pur.* p. 292, n. 3.

[2] The following passage of the legend is, perhaps, an allegorical embellishment, the idea being that praise (Ídá), the daughter of Manu, is the medium and accomplice by which he was able to bring about the creation of new orders of being. In this manner the present legend is made to harmonize with that in the *Mahábhárata*, where the new creation is said to be achieved by the extraordinary penance of Manu. But the birth of Ídá from the Waters, and the overtures of Mitra and Varuńa (? Day and Night), are still involved in mystery. Cf. Weber, I. 169.

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General inference.

Here again it would be quite superfluous to enlarge upon the shifting and capricious character of the Hindú legend, and still more to specify the points of contact which exist between it and the narrative preserved to us in Holy Scripture. Both these observations will immediately suggest themselves to every reader. But there is another point which, if it be less obvious, is certainly no less deserving of attention. The simplicity of the account in Genesis; the truthful and historic air of every part of it; its close coherence with all other facts of revelation, as well as with the scriptural theory of man and of the universe; the absence from it of those manifest depravations, which are only capable of being rectified and made intelligible when brought into the light which it diffuses, give additional weight to the authority on which it is received by Christians, and vindicate its claim to be regarded as a genuine copy of the old tradition that descended, age by age, from Noah to all members of the sacred family.

§ 4. *Hindú rite of Sacrifice.*

Moral insensibility of the Hindús.

Attention has been drawn already[1] to some characteristics of the Védas, intimating how very low was the degree of moral sensibility once prevalent in the Áryan tribes of Hindústán. And this remark is further illustrated by the versions of the Deluge we have just been criticising. Although the human race, according to Hindú legends, was so utterly overwhelmed that Manu had become the second head and parent of our species, it is obvious, and especially

[1] Above, pp. 182, 183.

obvious in the oldest form of the tradition, that the moral bearings of the Deluge were comparatively forgotten. It was rather treated as a dire catastrophe, originating in some physical necessities, than as the fruit and punishment of human sin. So far indeed the Buddhist[1] rose superior to the Bráhman. He was clearly conscious that although there *must* be periodic revolutions of the universe, their consequences may be all averted from the individual, who is open to the terrible warnings by which they are preceded. When a *déva* issues forth, according to the legends of Ceylon, arrayed in mourning and with trembling voice and streaming eyes announces, through the various regions doomed to desolation, that in a hundred thousand years the present *kalpa* will be finished, he is also commissioned to declare how every man is able to escape the dread calamity: 'Let him assist his parents, respect his superiors, avoid the five sins, and observe the five obligations.'

Bráhmanical sacrifices.

The Bráhman, however, notwithstanding the dulness of his moral intuitions, had always differed from the Buddhist in the care which he bestowed on the performance of sacrificial rites. There was no period in the lifetime of the Indo-Áryan people when altars were not reared and sacrifices offered.[2] For example,

[1] See the whole passage in Hardy's *Manual*, pp. 29, 30. 'The beings in the world in great fear approach the *déva*, and ask him whether he has learnt this by his own wisdom, or has been taught it by another; when he replies, that he was sent by Mahá-Brahmá, the *déva* of many ages. On hearing this declaration the men and *dévas* of the earth regard each other with affection, from the fear that comes upon them; by which merit is produced, and they are born in a brahma-loka.'

[2] Lassen, I. 789. He urges among other points the existence of the three words *hu* (*dhu*), *θύω*, and Lat. *fio*, which shew that sacrificial rites, and even offerings made by fire, were older than the original dispersion of the Indo-European family.

CHAP. III. as early as the hymns of the Rig-Véda, men appealed to the abundant blessings which were granted to their forefathers in virtue of the soma-sacrifice. 'O Soma [thus personifying the libation], thy bounties have been all remembered. Thou conductest us along the best of pathways. Under thy protection, O thou whose surname is *Indu* [liquor], our holy and wise ancestors have won the favour of the *dévas*.'[1] And, in harmony with this tradition, we noticed how the Hindú legend of the Deluge not only testified to the existence of primeval sacrifices, but extolled their wondrous merit. As Noah, on issuing from the Ark, is said to have built an altar unto the Lord, the Self-existent, that he might propitiate His anger by 'burnt-offerings' (Gen. viii. 20—22); so the first anxiety of Manu was to people the earth afresh, by means of prayer and mortification, and still more by what was held to be the grand 'accomplisher of all desires,' by various forms of sacrifice. But though the early prevalence of this rite among the Indo-Áryans must in future be regarded as indisputable, there remains no small confusion in some quarters with regard to the precise direction and design of the oblations thus presented.

Remote antiquity of sacrificial rites.

One design of Hindú sacrifices.

1. First, then, it should be remembered, that during the historic period, oblations were seldom or never made to God, the abstract Brahma, excepting where the worshipper had half-unconsciously identified Him with one or other of the elemental deities, with Indra, Agni, Soma, and the like, or else with some illustrious demi-god, the special organ of divinity. In other words, the Hindú offered his material sacri-

[1] *Rig-Véda*, Tome I. p. 171, ed. Langlois.

fices not to God, but to the gods.[1] As we behold him pictured in the sacred books of his religion, the objects of his worship differ only in degree, and not in nature, from the worshipper himself. They too are *creatures*, and as such are ultimately doomed to perish in the winding-up of all things. And the prevalent ideas of sacrifice entirely corresponded with this low conception of the nature of the beings to whom it was referred. 'By sacrifices the gods are nourished.'[2] Rain and fire and sunlight were believed to gather strength and potency proportioned to the size of the oblation, and the fervour of the human spirit. It was, therefore, not so much the feeling of unworthiness, or the intention to deny one's self, that prompted a large class of the Hindú oblations. Man was thoroughly persuaded[3] that the gods were capable of receiving benefit from his services, that they were fed by the abundant products of his field or garden, were exhilarated by the juices of the holy soma-plant, were nerved by his impassioned prayers, were solaced by the music of his hymns, and that in recompense for all such acts of piety, the gods became propitious to him: his pastures grew more fertile; his flocks and herds were multiplied; a numerous family gathered round his table, and the foe that threatened to destroy or vex him was more readily circumvented and despatched.

[1] Above, pp. 199, 268—270. Wuttke corroborates the view there taken: 'Nicht zu dem Ur-Brahma steigt das Gebet und der Opferrauch empor, sondern nur zu den dem Menschen ebenbürtigen creatürlichen Göttern:' II. 353.

[2] *Vishńu Pur.* p. 44.

[3] See the passages collected from the Védas in Wuttke, II. 342, 349, and contrast with them Psalm L. 7—15. That worthier views were however subsequently far more common is evident from passages quoted in Bähr, as below, II. 273, 274.

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Propitiatory sacrifices.

2. But while such feelings were most prominent in many of the oblations of the ancient Áryan, he also proved that he was never destitute of those convictions which form the proper basis of the rite of sacrifice; he shewed a sense of personal unworthiness, and a desire of making good his imperfections by offering to God the choicest of his hopes, and sacrificing the best of his possessions. Hence the offerings which he brought were sometimes far more costly and more obviously piacular. As early as the composition of the third Véda, they were all reduced under five heads:[1] (1) *Agnihotra*, burnt offerings, or libations of clarified butter on sacred fire; (2) *Darśapaurńamása*, sacrifices at new and full moon; (3) *Cháturmásya*, sacrifices every four months; (4) *Paśuyajna* or *Áśwamédha*, sacrifice of a horse or other animals; (5) *Soma-yajna*, offerings and libations of the juice of the acid asclepias, or moon-plant. A peculiar virtue was, however, generally ascribed to that one class of sacrifices which, as it involved the strangulation of the subject offered, would run counter to the prejudices of the later Áryan, who had mastered the ideas arising out of his belief in transmigration. While the other offerings were all mainly eucharistic, these were held to be propitiatory. While in other cases the god worshipped was invited to come down and share the offering with his suppliant, these were all religiously committed to the flames. While others had but little reference to the moral standing of the worshipper, these all derived their meaning from his

[1] *Vishńu Pur.* p. 275, n. 1: cf. Bähr, *Symbolik des Mosaischen Cultus*, II. 222, 223, who points out, that, generally speaking, the unbloody sacrifices were naturally presented to Vishńu, and the bloody sacrifices to Śiva.

felt antagonism to powers above him, and his dread of their impending vengeance. While the rest were, for the most part, offered to some individual member of the Hindú pantheon, a sin-offering contemplated the whole group of *dévas*, and in them, it may be, recognised the majesty of the Supreme Intelligence. 'The worshipper,' it was taught, 'who offers up an animal duly consecrated by Agni and by Soma, is therewith able to buy off all deities at once.'[1] CHAP. III.

Hindú conviction of unworthiness.

In this conception of the Hindú rite of sacrifice, ascending step by step through various orders of animals, and culminating in the grand oblation of the horse,[2] the 'king of sacrifices,' we are able to detect the clearest parallelism to some of the provisions of the Mosaic economy.[3] Animal sacrifice was uniformly prompted by a deep conviction of personal unworthiness, and the necessity in every worshipper to compensate for his shortcomings and imperfect consecration of himself to God. His life was felt to have been placed in peril, or rather it was wholly forfeited to the Divine Proprietor, whose will he had resisted, and whose laws he had transgressed. He laboured, therefore, by renouncing some of his chief goods, to symbolise and make apparent both to the Divinity and to himself his consciousness of guilt and misery, and, if possible, to clear away the barriers that obstructed his approach to God.

[1] See the remarkable extract from the *Aitaréya Bráhmaña* in Roth's 'Einleitung' to his edition of the *Nirukta*, p. xxxiii. In the same passage the editor points out the close resemblances between the customs of the early Hindús in slaying their sin-offerings, and the corresponding customs of the Greeks and Romans.

[2] See above, p. 173, n. 2; *Manu*, ch. v. § 39, § 53, ch. xi. § 261; *Rámáyaña*, i. 13, ed. Schlegel.

[3] Above, pp. 116, 117.

CHAP. III. Hence also, by a terrible distortion of the rite of sacrifice, had grown the custom of devoting human life itself to the offended *dévas*; for although there is no public trace of such oblations[1] in the very earliest period of Hindú religion, the revolting spectacle was seen at last, and was repeated by some barbarous and fanatic spirits from that day to our own.

Sacrifice according to the philosophers.

3. On the other hand, the teaching of the earnest and enlightened Áryans had been deflecting more and more from the revealed idea of substitutive suffering. They laboured to effect their own recovery without the intervention of a Mediator. Sacrifices might, indeed, be offered, and might possibly appease the wrath of some inferior *déva*, but the only offering which philosophy could stamp with its approval, was the conscious dedication of the individual spirit to the Spirit of the universe. According, therefore, to these doctors, the whole life of man must be a great oblation of himself, intended to promote his absolute

[1] Above, p. 183, and n. 2. It may be mentioned, in addition to the paper of Prof. Wilson's there referred to, that Roth has also examined the remarkable legend of Śunahsépa (Weber's *Ind. Stud.* I. 457 sq., II. 112 sq.), and that he regards it as proving the existence of human sacrifices at an early period. 'Als Mittelpunkt der Sage in dieser Form erscheint offenbar die Rettung Çunahçepa's vom Opfertode, ihre nächste Beziehung ist also die religiös-sittliche, gerichtet gegen den Gräuel des Menschenopfers. So mag denn diese Legende, die einzige indische der Art, für das brahmanische Volk dieselbe Bedeutung gehabt haben, wie die Sage von Iphigenia oder von Phrixos für die Hellenen, die von Abraham und Isaak für das hebräische Alterthum. Die Aehnlichkeiten in einzelnen Zügen liessen sich manche namhaft machen: es möge genügen darauf hinzuweisen, dass die indische Erzählung für den dem Tode entzogenen Menschen keinen Ersatz auf dem Altare selbst eintreten lässt: die Bitte um Gnade genügt um das Gräuliche schlechthin aufzuheben.' In later times the offering of human victims was generally confined to the worshippers of Śiva, and his wife Káli or Durgá.

deliverance from the fetters of the selfish and the natural. Exactly in proportion as he continues to possess an individual being,[1] he is broken off from God, he is encompassed with infirmities, he is the victim of his appetites, the slave of his affections, and as such, abandoned to the powers of evil. Hence wherever this conception was fully realised, the form of man's devotion was most rigorous and ascetical. Though 'suitable acts of expiation had been enjoined by the great sages for every kind of crimes,'[2] they all were far from satisfying the rules of penance which the ardent devotee was willing to impose upon himself. The proper sacrifice, he urged, is that which, springing from an utter abnegation of the individual, aims at nothing short of God and self-annihilation.

§ 5. *The Hindú hope of restoration.*

How far the Hindú expected an historical Saviour.

The grand idea of an historic Saviour, entering once for all into the line of humanity, and once for all achieving its redemption by the offering of Himself to God, was utterly unknown to every class of ancient Áryans. Sacrifices may have taught men the imperative need of some such intervention, and may further have suggested the conception of some

[1] The following extract from the *Probodha-Chandrodaya* (ed. Goldstücker, p. 55) will serve to illustrate the whole subject: 'Wenn sie den Höchsten in Banden legten, den Einigen zur Vielheit theilten und den ewigen Herrscher in körperliches Dasein warfen und zu der Stufe der Sterblichkeit brachten, so werde ich eine Busse vollbringen, die dem Leben dieser Brahmatheiler ein Ende macht und ihn wieder zu seiner Einheit führt.'

[2] *Vishńu Pur.* p. 210. Yet in accordance with the laxer principles of the Puranic age, and of the Hindú sectaries, it was finally maintained that 'reliance upon Krishńa is far better than any such expiatory acts as religious austerity and the like.' Remembrance of Hari (Vishńu) is said to be the 'best of all expiations.' *Ib.*

CHAP. III. Victim higher than the cows and horses which they strangled, and more holy than the holiest *yogin* who consumed his life in penance and austerities; but the actual course of Hindú thought was rather tending to diminish than increase the keenness of these cravings and the force of these suggestions. While the many had been more and more disposed to acquiesce in a routine of ceremonial observances, relying for the rest on some particular *déva*, whom they specially selected for their patron; the philosopher had grown more confident of his resources, and more daring in his efforts to mount upward on the wings of knowledge and asceticism, and consummate his fellowship with God. Yet notwithstanding all these wayward tendencies, diverging, each in opposite ways, from principles of true religion, there was always in the heart of man a yearning after some external Saviour; there was always a presentiment that such a Saviour would eventually stoop down from heaven, and by an act of grace and condescension master all our deadliest foes, and reinstate us in our lost inheritance.

This dim and elementary idea, pointing to a future *religatio* of the human and Divine, and so pervading all systems of religion, was especially manifest in the traditions of Hindús respecting the descent of God to earth in various forms of creaturely existence. I have already drawn attention to the legend of the Deluge, where, according to one version of it, Brahmá, and, according to another, Vishńu, is said to have appeared as an enormous Fish, in order to promote the welfare of his righteous follower, and preserve the continuity of the human species. Other legends bring before us different kinds of *avatáras*,

where the rescue of mankind from the dominion of malignant spirits is no less conspicuous. Earth herself complains[1] how she is reeling under the vast load of guilt and wretchedness, yet her complaints are all eventually carried to Vishńu, who comforts her by the assurance that her wrongs shall be redressed and all her enemies brought to shame and silence. The hope of such emancipation is, we saw, most formally expressed in recent versions of the Krishńa-legend. There a series of periodic interventions in behalf of man is definitely asserted, while the object contemplated by them is no less distinctly said to be a *moral* object,—the suppression of impiety, the protection of the good, and the establishment of duty.[2]

The Kalki-avatára:

But, as if to satisfy us that the faith of the Hindú in champions of his own devising was extremely feeble at the best, we see him ready to abandon them and willing to accept a novel incarnation of Vishńu, whose advent is still future. For example, in the close of the Kali-yuga, when the world, relapsing more and more into impiety, has reached the brink of annihilation, the Hindú expects a fresh deliverer, human both in form and aspect, seated on a white horse, and armed with a destructive scythe. To him will be awarded the eight faculties[3] which constituted man's original perfection: he will also be a genuine 'portion of Brahma,' 'the Beginning and the End.'[4] 'By his irresistible might he will destroy all the *mléchchas* and thieves, and all whose minds are devoted to iniquity. He will then re-establish righteousness upon earth; and the minds of those

[1] *Asiatic Res.* x. 27.
[2] Above, p. 281.
[3] Above, p. 304, n. 2.
[4] *Vishńu Pur.* p. 484.

CHAP. III. who live at the end of the Kali-age shall be awakened, and shall be pellucid as crystal. The men who are thus changed by virtue of that peculiar time shall be as the seeds of human beings, and shall give birth to a race who shall follow the laws of the Krita age, or age of purity."[1] Yet the modern origin of documents in which this legend is preserved, as well as its position in the series of Hindú *avatáras*, and the glaring contradiction which it offers to older representations of the sacred books in reference to the yuga-system, all require us to place it in an age far subsequent to the diffusion of the Gospel. On the other hand, the manifest resemblances which it exhibits to some visions of the Apocalypse will as clearly justify us in imputing its origin to Gnostic, if not Christian, influence;[2] an identification fatal to the cavils of a modern rationalist, who, after citing the Kalki-legend with an air of triumph, goes on to tell us that 'the Jews have the same belief,' but that 'with them it is an after-thought.' The truth is that, so far from being either secondary or derived, the expectation of a Christ, all-righteous and all-merciful, a Christ in whom all nations of the earth may find a blessing, was imprinted on the heart and memory of the Hebrew people from the time of Abraham: it was the pivot of their firmest hopes, it was the key to all their Scriptures.

its probable origin.

[1] *Ibid.* Cf. Lüken *Traditionen*, p. 320.

[2] 'Der Kalkin insbesondere mit seinem weissen Rosse ist schwerlich eine indische Erfindung, da er dem Yugasystem, welches am Ende *jedes* Kaliyuga eine *Zerstörung* der Welt verlangt oder wenigstens verlangen sollte, direkt widerspricht, erklärt sich dagegen vortrefflich aus den ähnlichen Vorstellungen der Gnostiker.' Weber, *Ind. Stud.* II. 411.

CHAPTER IV.

Contrasts in the general development of Hindúism and Revealed Religion.

'In the present impure age, the bud of wisdom being blighted by iniquity, men are unable to apprehend pure unity.'

HINDŪ PHILOSOPHER.

'Ημῖν δὲ ἀπεκάλυψεν ὁ Θεὸς διὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος αὐτοῦ.—ST. PAUL.

CHAP. IV.

Abraham contrasted with some ancient Áryan.

1. IF one were asked to single out the main criterion by which patriarchs, like Abraham, may be distinguished from the Áryan chief, whose portrait is preserved among the oldest hymns of the Rig-Véda, it would turn far less upon the difference in their mental organisation and their outward forms of worship, than on sentiments by which that organisation was directed and those forms of worship were upheld. The men to be contrasted are both primitive and simple-hearted. Both are nomades, far inferior, it may be, to their descendants in the strength and clearness of their intellectual powers, though more than equal in poetic sensibility; collecting wisdom as they move from spot to spot in search of regular modes of life and permanent habitations. The wealth of each is in his flocks and herds; his strength in the devotion of his clansmen and posterity. Both are also conscious of their moral wants, and their

CHAP. IV. dependence on superior genii; both are men of praise, of prayer, of sacrifice. And yet how very different are the aspects of their inner life, the real character of their religious worship, their relations to the world invisible.

The faith of the Hebrew patriarch.

The father of the Hebrew race, as we behold him in the Book of Genesis, abandoning his paternal roof, and then encamping, year by year, beneath a foreign sky, is ever influenced by the consciousness of supernatural guidance. The arm on which he leans is that of the Omnipotent. The Lord Himself is with him in the course of his migrations: his misgivings are all hushed when he reflects that God, the Self-Existent, is his shield, and his exceeding great reward (Gen. xv. 1). The patriarch, in other words, has such a faith in God as justifies his claim to be a Christian by anticipation, 'the father of the faithful.' That organ of the soul by which we realise as present what is actually beyond the range of human vision, was in him directed to the object where alone it can be satisfied. The God of Abraham was living, personal, ever-present, irresistible, no cold Abstraction of the logical faculty, no distant Something which could only be defined by negatives, but a willing Friend, a righteous Judge, a sympathetic Father. Abraham's road may lie along the trackless plain or the inhospitable mountain-side, and yet he fears no evil: his trust is in a living God and Guardian, who will never fail His own. He may be called to suffer, but he suffers at the hands of One who will convert the scourge itself into an instrument of blessing. He may have to sacrifice the fairest of his earthly prospects, yet he knows to

whom the sacrifice is made. He wanders childless in the land of promise, yet as often as he gazes up to heaven, he welcomes in the stars that spangle the unclouded firmament, an image of his own posterity. Abraham 'believed in the Lord; and He counted it to him for righteousness' (Gen. xv. 6). CHAP. IV.

The Indo-Áryan, on the other hand, had no such faith in God, and no such trust in His protection. Indisposed to love God, he was equally unwilling to retain God in his knowledge. In proportion as he left his Father's house to wander forth in quest of this or that debasing pleasure, faith was dimmed and paralysed within him, till the thought of a supreme Intelligence, distinct from matter and transcending all material processes, had well-nigh vanished from his soul. Instead of finding peace in God, he vainly sought it in the adoration or deprecation of the elements; and having abandoned himself to this inferior kind of worship, he oscillated from one *déva* to another, but had real faith in none.

It is indeed remarkable, that the efficacy of a principle analogous to Christian faith was never plainly recognised in India till after the propagation of the Gospel.[1] Then it was that the idea began to shew itself in one particular Hindú sect, where men adopted phraseology which might have been mistaken almost for the language of the early Church. They spoke of worshipping God in spirit: they ascribed a wonderful significance to faith (*bhakti*); yet even this new verity was in the end so much distorted, that the spurious 'faith' of India had become no better than a cloke for heartless apathy or

[1] See Lassen, II. 1096, 1099, and above, p. 257, 258.

CHAP. IV. gross licentiousness. Belief in one particular *déva*, or a firm reliance on the merit of some special *avatára*, would, according to this system, obviate the need of virtue, and would sanctify all kinds of vice.[2]

The moral superiority of the Hebrew patriarch.

How different was the faith of Abraham! It did not terminate in *dévas* like Vishńu or Siva, Krishńa or Gańéśa: and the object being raised indefinitely higher, and invested with distinctly moral attributes, the principle of faith had also gained a corresponding elevation. 'I am the Almighty God: walk before me, and be thou perfect' (Gen. xvii. 1). Such was the original ḅasis of the covenant which brought the patriarch into a new relationship with God. The Being whom he worshipped was not only righteous, but was righteousness itself. He was no local deity with limited jurisdiction or with human partialities. He was the Judge of all the earth (Gen. xviii. 25): and to impress this grand idea on Abraham and his posterity was the uniform design of all the elder revelation. The satisfying of men's intellectual cravings was but secondary and subordinate, compared with the enlivening of their conscience, the rectifying of their wishes, and the purification of their heart. The will of man, as one essential organ needed for

[1] Elphinstone, pp. 98, 121, and Wilson, *Lectures*, p. 31. The latter of these authorities, who has enlarged upon the question in his *History of the Hindú Sects*, remarks that by teaching the doctrine of 'faith alone,' the Hindú sectarian has rendered conduct 'wholly immaterial.' 'It matters not how atrocious a sinner may be, if he paints his face, his breast, his arms, with certain sectarial marks; or, which is better, if he brands his skin permanently with them with a hot iron stamp; if he is constantly chanting hymns in honour of Vishńu; or, what is equally efficacious, if he spends hours in the simple reiteration of his name or names; if he die with the word Hari, or Ráma, or Krishńa, on his lips, and the thought of him in his mind, he may have lived a monster of iniquity,—he is certain of heaven.'

the due appropriation of Divine knowledge, as one leading element in the spiritual constitution of our race, was made in Hebraism the subject of a special education: it was moulded step by step into conformity with the will of God. He asked the patriarch and his descendants whether, with the knowledge of Him which they had already, they would still believe in Him, and follow Him as their supreme Director, even though His path might sometimes be mysterious, and the truths He taught them might sound harsh and paradoxical. And the effect of this divine œconomy is clearly seen from day to day in Abraham himself. The patriarch can never be indifferent for example to his earthly prospects and position; for the present world to him is not a 'vast mirage' of unsubstantial phantoms, but is full of deep realities. He longs for offspring, he aspires to see his family in possession of the land of Canaan; yet whenever God appears to be rescinding the original promise, Abraham as often bows to the decision, and resigns his own will to the will of God: and when at last old age is creeping over him and he is still like one who sojourns in a strange country, and must buy himself a sepulchre, his walk with God continues to uphold and purify him; he can look more clearly through the temporal promise to the principles which underlie it; the postponement first, and then the partial realisation of it, teach him to reflect more deeply on some brighter and enduring heritage; and his spirit being thus exalted to a closer converse with the things invisible, he dies, as he has lived, —in faith.

On the other hand, it seems as though the Indo-

CHAP. IV. Áryan were far less susceptible of moral culture, and that culture far more seriously retarded by the rank luxuriance of his other powers, the vividness of his imagination, and the acuteness of his speculative faculty. 'In the hymns of the Véda, we see man left to himself to solve the riddle of the world.'[1] As soon as he relinquishes the primary faith in God, he dooms himself to wander without light or guidance in the midst of endless mazes, and to struggle with gigantic and insoluble enigmas. Nay, the obscuration has extended far and deep into the spiritual province of his nature. He is 'alienated from the life of God through the ignorance that is in him, because of the blindness of his heart.' The oracle of conscience may still speak indeed, but its decisions are continually disputed and rejected. The monitor within him, his own inmost self, may raise its frequent protest in behalf of righteousness, and drive him to invoke the help of Indra, or the mercy of the purifying Waters; yet he finds in them no real and abiding comfort; he is tempted to resign himself afresh to the dominion of the power of darkness, and to give up the battle of humanity for lost.

The hopeful spirit of the Hebrew patriarch.

Abraham, 'believing Him faithful that promised,' was conspicuous also as a man of hope, of large ideas, of glowing aspirations. He shewed himself most conscious of his noble destiny; he realised, as few had done before, the glories which had been reserved for all adherents of the true religion. He saw the day of the Messiah; he saw it, and was glad. Directed by the light of the prophetic spirit, he beheld not only the detention of his children's chil-

[1] Prof. Max Müller, in Bunsen's *Phil. of Univ. Hist.* I. 134.

dren in a land that was not theirs, and their eventual recovery from bondage after a definite term of years (Gen. xv. 13, 14), but also their migration to the land of promise, the commencement of some Hebrew dynasty, and last of all the advent of *the* Son of Abraham, in whom all nations of the earth are blessed. We ought not, doubtless, to exaggerate the area of his field of vision, nor represent him as possessed of all those truths which, after the diffusion of a perfect light, we may discover in the oldest version of the Gospel-promise. The reality itself may be as different in degree from aught which Abraham anticipated, as the future glory of the Christian may transcend the imagery by means of which he now approximates to some idea of it. Still Abraham was in his day the champion of the ancient faith; and as he wandered far and near and saw the nations lapsing one by one into idolatry and creature-worship, he could hardly fail to understand that the election of his family, as the family of God, was for some high and holy purpose, that the basis of the covenant was a moral basis, and that He, in whom the stock of Abraham would finally put forth its choicest branch and reach its highest glory, was to spread the blessings of this covenant in all the scattered tribes of man. CHAP. IV.

But where in any of the Védas can we find a parallel to this patient trust in God, this glowing hope of an imperishable kingdom? There were echoes, it may be, confused, and often contradictory echoes of the primitive condemnation of man's tempter; and as evil seemed to propagate itself from age to age, and as the malice of the demons

CHAP. IV. grew still more intolerable, earnest hearts would grope, despairing of all human saviours, for a God of truth, of holiness, of mercy: yet oft as heathendom put forth these dim presentiments, and fondly as it clung to these half-conscious prophecies of redemption, it was never able to decipher[1] them until the promise was in fact fulfilled, and meaning was imported into them by the announcements of the Gospel. The heart had always striven in the direction of Christianity, but never till the advent of the Saviour was that striving made intelligible even to itself.

Contrast extended to religious systems.

Now the contrast here exhibited between the father of the faithful and the more elevated of those Áryan colonists who chanted in their first migrations the impassioned hymns of the Rig-Véda, is in general true of the religious systems under which the Hebrew and Hindú were being educated. In the one we have stability, in the other, fluctuation; in the one, development, in the other, discontinuity; in the one, progress, in the other, retrogression. In the first, the Object of belief entirely fills the spirit of the worshipper, He is the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever; in the second, the divinities all change, or vanish in the lapse of ages; they are 'old' and 'young,'[2] are less and greater, this supplanting or eclipsing that, and all extinguishable by the very law of their existence. Moreover, out of Abraham

[1] 'The universal heart of mankind, from out of the depths, invoked the presence of the Restorer, though it would not read its own involuntary prophecy.' Archer Butler, *Sermons*, 1st series, p. 241.

[2] The Védas themselves distinguish between the great gods and the less, between the young gods and the old. Wilson, *Rig-Véda*, I. 71.

there grew a family which proved itself the champion of monotheism, and which acted as the shelter of the purest forms of worship and the guardian of the oracles of God. That family in spite of all adverse influences was one and indestructible: it stood in reference to the world at large as stood the sacred ark of Noah in the midst of the avenging waters. It surmounted all the storms and fluctuations of all ages; it carried in its bosom the beginnings of a new creation, and the germs of supernatural life that should hereafter leaven all the mass of humanity. CHAP. IV.

Continuity of true religion.

As centuries revolved, the creed of that sacred family had doubtless grown more definite and luminous; the measure of man's light was greater, and his knowledge of his future destiny more certain and explicit; but the several steps by which these vast accessions were produced are all apparent in the marvellous annals of the Hebrew people. So far from standing in a line with heathenism, so far from borrowing its distinctive properties from any or from all the Gentile systems, the religion of the Old Testament, if we believe its own assertions and denunciations, was from first to last in diametric opposition to them. They were from beneath; it was from above. They all were issuing from the brain and heart of man; they varied with the variations of his temperament and with the growth of intellectual culture: it was the result of an objective revelation, which, coming down immediately from God, was radiant with the light of His perfection, and was based upon relations between God and man which neither time nor space can modify. As early as the

CHAP. IV. patriarchal period it was taught how every ethnic system would be finally superseded; how the 'Shiloh' would inherit all the royalty of Judah, and how Gentiles would all flock to Him for light, for shelter, for nutrition. And when Christianity was actually established it was far from disappointing these anticipations of the ancient world. It grew out of that anterior system, as the ripening flower unfolds itself organically from the bud, or as the daylight is the natural sequence of the dawn. The Church of God has not been planted on the ruins of the old theocracy, but is its proper consummation. The Son of Abraham is now the Prince of Peace and King of Glory, and all 'who are Christ's are Abraham's seed and heirs according to the promise.'

New points of comparison.

2. Nor if special features of the Hebrew and Hindú systems be compared in chronological order, shall we often find that the alleged resemblances between them are more than superficial; provided only that our estimate of revealed religion is based entirely on original and authentic documents. This proviso is the more important, since analogies far deeper *do* exist, as we shall see hereafter, between the genuine creeds of Hindústán and certain depravations of revealed truth as it was first communicated. It might be urged, for instance, with considerable plausibility that Bráhmanism, in reference to the general course of its development, will stand to Buddhism in the same relation that Mosaism stands to Christianity; or, in other words, that if we place the principles enunciated in the Védas and the Laws of Manu side by side with those contained in the Old Testament, and if we place the principles of Gautama

side by side with those of Christ and the Apostles, the comparison will lead us to infer some inward, if not outward and historical affinity, between the different systems of belief. These questions both demand a more particular examination. CHAP. IV.

Brâhmanism how far analogous to Hebraism.

(1) First, then, Brâhmanism was but a secondary stage in the formation of the Indo-Áryan institutions. It appears to have adapted to the wants of nations what before had been restricted to the family, the clan, the disconnected tribe. In this respect the office of Mosaism was not only analogous, but identical. Both, in order to effect such purpose, had engrafted new elements upon the worship of the previous period; both had multiplied the number of sacrificial rites, and, while reviving many of the ordinances which had the sanction of the former generations,[1] fresh importance seems to have been given to ritual uniformity, as though, in that peculiar phase of human progress, the language of symbolic action was peculiarly expressive and intelligible. But while I grant the perfect truth of all such representations, the objector needs to be reminded that the moral system of the Hebrews was meanwhile indefinitely superior to that of popular Hindúism. The institutes of Moses added, it may be, to what had formerly prevailed; they authorised a far more solemn and elaborate liturgy; but, unlike the institutes of Manu, they insisted at the same time more emphatically on the need of spirituality in the worshipper: the tone of every interdict and admonition grew more penetrating and severe. 'Will I eat the flesh of bulls, or drink the blood of goats?

[1] Cf. Blunt's *Undesigned Coincidences*, pp. 8, 9. Lond. 1847.

CHAP. IV. Offer unto God thanksgiving; and pay thy vows unto the Most High; and call upon Me in the day of trouble: I will deliver thee, and thou shalt glorify Me. But unto the wicked God saith, What hast thou to do, to declare My statutes, or that thou shouldest take My covenant in thy mouth?' (Ps. L. 13—16). The symbols of the Hebrew law were thus far more than barren and unmeaning ceremonies: they suggested to the worshipper a multitude of deep and spiritual relations. Man was taught to separate the visible imagery under which divine things were brought down more fully to his present understanding from ideas and principles enveloped in them, and especially to hear the doctrine of the unity, the placability, the holiness, and the supremacy of God, proclaimed in every chapter of their ritual institute.

Hereditary priesthood.

Again, the system, re-enacted under Moses, like that which owed its birth to Manu, had a powerful and hereditary priesthood, whose prerogatives were guarded by a list of stringent prohibitions. None but they could minister in holy things. Yet here, in spite of all apparent similarities, the difference is essential and extreme. The Hebrew legislator had most plainly recognised the unity of the human race: he gave no sanction to the law of caste, by which the Bráhman had been lifted far above his fellows, not in office only but extraction and inherent worth. The son of Aaron was an ordinary Israelite; he was descended from an ordinary member of the patriarchal family,—no emanation from the head or reason of Brahmá, while others were the offspring of the feet. And, as the consequence of this original equality, the high-priest of the Hebrews, though invested with

superior rank and ministering before God, not only for himself but also in behalf of other men, had never shewn a disposition to invade the privileges of his brethren. His official dignity was felt to be compatible with the sacerdotal character of every Israelite, who, owing to his moral elevation and particularly to his knowledge of the one True God, had always been a member of a 'royal priesthood,' and a 'prophet for all mankind.'[1] Accordingly the insight into heavenly mysteries, and access to 'the oracles of God,' had never been confined, among the Hebrews, to one narrow circle, or one favoured class. The many were not left to gather up such crumbs and fragments of religious truth as chanced to fall from the abundant table of some haughty doctor like the Bráhman. The provisions of the Law had rendered it possible for every one to know the will of God, and make it known to others; and each father, in pursuance of this principle, was urged to teach his children, 'to the intent that when they came up they might shew their children the same.'

Narrowness of range.

The point, however, which is more especially insisted on by those who institute comparisons between the Hebrew and Bṛáhmanic systems is the partial and exclusive spirit manifest in both. That narrowness, indeed, may fairly be ascribed to every aspect of the latter system, no one has yet ventured to dispute. Its very constitution was harsh and inelastic. It knew of no expansion beyond the members of the three superior ('twice-born') classes; for the śúdra, though reduced by the victorious arm of the invader and associated with the rest in the capacity of a serf,

[1] See above, p. 111, n. 1.

CHAP. IV. was held to be excluded, by impurity of descent, from all acquaintance with the Védas[1] and from other like advantages. But can the same exclusiveness be fairly charged against the Hebrews and their system? Doubtless one great object of it was to fence them in from the contamination of the neighbouring heathen, and by educating them apart to render them a single and peculiar people; yet there never was a period in their history when they were treated as a higher and distinct 'race' of beings, or the proselyte rejected from communion with the genuine Hebrew. Men, for instance, like the Kenites or the Rechabites, retaining the ancestral faith in one True God without conforming to the ritual law of Moses, lived for centuries on terms of amity with Israel and were sheltered near the sanctuary of God. The psalmist and the prophet are both heard exulting in the thought that Zion was the home and mother-city not of Israel only, but of gentile nations also. At the dedication of the temple Solomon did not forget the 'strangers' coming out of far countries to worship in Jerusalem. They also were embraced within the circle of the prayer; 'That all people of the earth may know Thy name, to fear Thee, as do Thy people Israel' (1 Kings viii. 43). And as the number of such proselytes went on increasing, the energy of Hebraism itself would be recruited by admixtures from the heathen world. The single difference in point of expansibility between the Christian and Hebrew systems lay in this;—that under the more perfect institution converts are relieved from the necessity of compliance with the ancient ritual, on

[1] See above, p. 194, n. 2.

the ground that man, exalted by incorporation into Christ, is now attaining his majority,—is capable of higher and more spiritual forms of education. Still it should not be forgotten that nothing would at first conduce more largely to the spread of Christian influences than the existence of those Jewish proselytes in every district both of east and west. They served as starting-points for missions to the heathen; they were links, or rather living stones, made ready in the providence of God for binding all the world together, and for building up a Catholic Church.

Buddhism how far analogous to Christianity.

(2) But, secondly, do other and more obvious points of similarity exist between the general aspects of Buddhism and those of Christianity? Was Buddhism, for example, in its main particulars the offspring of an older system? Christianity was also this, but with the grand distinction that it never for one moment ceased to venerate the holy writings and traditions of its predecessor; whereas Buddhism entered on the work of revolution by rejecting or contemning the authority of the Védas. Or, did Buddhism labour to emancipate the ancient world from the dominion of an irksome and elaborate ritual? Christianity has in turn effected this emancipation; not, however, by the violent uprooting of the older forms of service, but by placing in the very centre of its dogmatic system the reality which they foreshadowed, and thus elevating and refining the whole character of worship. Or, again, did Buddhism venture to repudiate every species of animal sacrifice? The Gospel did the same, but in obedience to a very different theory both of God and man. So far from questioning the truth of instincts which had found

CHAP. IV. expression in the ancient sacrifices, it was ever pointing to 'the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world:' it taught men how the offering of all other victims was eclipsed and superseded not by the development of human reason or the riper dictates of philosophy, but 'through the offering of the body of Jesus Christ once for all.' Did Buddhism lay unwonted stress on ethics? Christianity did the same, but building on a true foundation, all the lessons which it inculcated were sustained by deep and heavenly motives; they grew directly out of its theology, deriving thence their highest virtue and most touching illustration. To be good is, in the moral system of the Christian, to be God-like: while in Buddhism, where the thought of the Creator and the Judge is virtually rejected, the moral code itself is stripped of its supreme authority. Or was Buddhism from the first distinguished by the feminine mildness of its tone, the gentleness of its demeanour, the diffusiveness of its philanthropy? These crowning excellencies of the heathen system were again transcended by the genial spirit of Christianity; for though it has distinctly recognised the freedom of the human agent, and so carried its appeal directly to the manlier province of our being, it has taught men with unequalled emphasis to put away 'all bitterness and wrath and anger and clamour and evil speaking, with all malice,' and has charged them to be 'kind one to another, tender-hearted, forgiving one another, even as God, for Christ's sake, hath forgiven them.' Or, lastly, did the followers of the Buddha rise at length to the conception of an ever-widening empire, and embark on the conversion of far-distant nations?

Have their tenets been in fact accepted, not by Hindús only, but by countless multitudes in China and Tibet, and still more recently by Japanese and Burman, Mongol and Malay? The Gospel in like manner claims to be a 'world religion.' It has never faltered in that claim since He, whose errand was to rescue and restore humanity, commissioned the small band of Galilæan peasants to go forth into the world and 'preach the Gospel to every creature.' By the majesty and life inherent in the Gospel it has subjugated, step by step, the first, the mightiest, the most highly-gifted nations; and although, in some localities, the tide of conquest has receded and the vantage-ground been lost, the course of Christianity was on the whole triumphant and progressive. Every year is adding largely to the proofs already given of supernatural vigour, and indefinite expansibility: and thus the Gospel is, in fact, what Buddhism vainly strove to be,—*the* agent in the hands of God for working the regeneration of the human family.[1]

Real coincidences between India and the West.

Yet, while I would contend that most of the alleged resemblances between the spirit which pervades the Bible on the one side, and the Hindú *sútras* on the other, are but slight and superficial, I am far from saying that no analogies whatever can be traced in the historical development of the religions we are now comparing. What, then, is the general nature of these points of contact? I answer:

[1] It is melancholy to hear a weak and half-infatuated writer of the present day, in discussing the great question, *What is Truth?* (Lond. 1856) complain of 'the partial littleness, the narrowness of conception, and circumscribed application of our Christian invention, and the isolated instances of beneficence exhibited in the ministry of Christ,' as compared with the Buddhist's 'sublime picture of an exulting universe,' &c. p. 156.

CHAP. IV. they are, for the most part, not discoverable in the genuine dogmas of revealed religion, but in later depravations of it,—not in Hebraism as founded on the ancient Scriptures, and embodied in the temple-service, not in Christianity as once for all delivered by the Lord and His Apostles to the keeping of the early Church, but in some schools and systems, drawing their original life from these, yet leavened and corrupted by other elements of foreign or extrinsic growth.

Root of such resemblances.

Nor will the bare existence of such resemblances be matter of surprise to him who soberly reflects upon the way in which they are produced. As soon as ever the mind of man is anxious to break loose from what is supernaturally revealed; as soon as ever the authority within him is suffered to resist and overrule the authority without him, he at once relapses, in the same proportion, to a state of nature: the religious system he constructs is so far standing on a level with heathenism; and whenever such internal affinity has been established[1] there is reason to expect, in cases even where no outward agents are at work,

[1] See above, p. 253, n. 4. Quinet (*Le Génie des Religions*, pp. 215, 216, Paris, 1851) appears to have been startled by the discovery of some of the resemblances between Buddhism and the Romanism of the Middle Ages:—'On reste d'ailleurs confondu en voyant comment, à travers toutes les differences de temps et de lieu, la même empreinte spirituelle a produit, dans le catholicisme du moyen âge et dans le bouddhisme de la haute Asie, des institutions, des mœurs, des singularités, si parfaitement semblables qu'on croirait l'Orient et l'Occident plagiares l'un de l'autre. Dans les légendes des bouddhistes de Ceylan, comme dans les chroniques des monastères de Cîteaux et de Saint-Gall, ce ne sont que fondations de convents d'hommes ou de femmes, missions chez les peuples étrangers, pélerinages, bénédictions de reliques, indulgences, prédications, conciles œcuméniques pour combattre les schismes, extirper l'hérésie, maintenir l'orthodoxie.' On some of the points here cited, see Appendix II.

a general similarity between tenets of two independent doctors, and, it may be, in the structure of their sacred institutions. CHAP. IV.

I shall notice one or two examples. Of the three great sects who figured in Judæa at the close of the Old-Testament œconomy, one of the most remarkable was the confraternity of the Essenes; which, though entirely Jewish in its main complexion, may remind us here and there not only of Pythagoras and the 'Polistæ,' but of Gautama Buddha and his school.[1] There is the same mystic glow upon the spiritual life of the Essene. Repelled and wearied by the frigid ritualism of the Pharisee, and disgusted by the selfishness and scepticism of the Sadducee, his feelings had impelled him to withdraw entirely from the town; he lost his reverence for the temple-service, he endeavoured to arrive at fuller knowledge of the things of God by analysing his own emotions. Meanwhile, however, he was not a mere recluse, inactive, meditative, and unpractical. He saw in every human being the image of the one Creator; he abhorred all forms of slavery; he was ardently desirous to promote the moral and material interests of his *Essenism.*

[1] A late writer (Mr. J. H. Gouldhawke), in his extravagant production, *The Solar Allegories*, Calcutta, 1855, attempts to prove that 'the greater number of personages mentioned in the Old and New Testaments are allegorical beings. He has also laboured to connect the philosophy of the Essenes with that of the Pythagoreans and Hindú philosophers (p. 20); and in particular traces back the growth of Christian monasticism to influences diffused by them and their associates in the schools of Alexandria. Neander, in considering a similar objection, has admitted (*Life of Christ*, p. 40, London, 1851) that the sect of the Essenes, though strictly Jewish in its origin, contained within it some infusion of Oriental theosophy, but is at the same time very careful to point out the fundamental contradiction between the special principles of Essenism and those of Christianity.

CHAP. IV. fallen countrymen. But here, as in the case of Buddhism, while attempting to remodel and regenerate, the Essene abandoned his belief not only in the errors and extravagances of other sects, but in some vital principles of true religion. He estranged himself from the divine society where God was more immediately present. The spirit which he more and more betrayed was, in the language of Neander, 'monkish and schismatic.' Like the Buddhist he believed in some arbitrary and irrevocable fate,[1] necessitating human action. Like the Buddhist also he repudiated the ancient doctrine of mediation, propitiation, and redemption, by disparaging, if not abjuring, the rite of sacrifice, in which that doctrine was embodied; and thus, in spite of all the amiability and gentleness of his nature, we hear of no Essenes among the little company of Hebrews 'who first trusted in Christ.'

Early Christian heresies.

Or, take again the swarm of heresies that soon invaded almost every province of the early Church. Abandoning, as they did, the more essential of the supernatural truths of revelation, they were virtually and in effect revivals of paganism; and family-likeness may accordingly be traced among the older speculations current in the schools of heathen philosophy. In discussing, for example, the nature of the Divine Sonship, Sabellius and his party taught a doctrine very similar to that already noticed in the *trimúrti* of India; while Docetism, starting from a notion that the spiritual and material cannot per-

[1] Τὸ δὲ τῶν Ἐσσηνῶν γένος, ἐκείνης ψῆφον ἀνθρώποις ἁπαντᾷ. πάντων τὴν εἱμαρμένην κυρίαν ἀποφαίνεται, καὶ μηδὲν ὃ μὴ κατ' Joseph. *Antiq.* XIII. v. 9, ed. Havercamp.

manently coexist, had merely reproduced the Hindú doctrine of *avatáras*. The inward correspondence in the texture of ideas had issued in a similar depravation of revealed truth. CHAP. IV.

Monasticism;

Or if, penetrating below the surface, we investigate the elementary thoughts and feelings that hereafter found an utterance in monastic institutions of the Church, we find that on the one side those ideas are alien from the spirit of primitive Christianity, and on the other that they had been long familiar in the east before they were appropriated or unconsciously reproduced among one class of Christians in Syria and Egypt. India was the real birthplace of monasticism,[1] its cradle being in the haunts of earnest *yogins* and self-torturing devotees, who were convinced that evil is inherent not in man only but in all the various forms of matter, and accordingly withdrew as far as possible from contact with the outer world.[2] At first indeed the Christian hermit like the earliest of his Hindú prototypes had dwelt alone upon the outskirts of his native town or village, supporting himself by manual labour and devoting all the surplus of his earnings to religious purposes. But during the fourth century of the present era many such hermits began to flock together in the forest or the wilderness, where regular confraternities were organised upon a model more or less derived from the Egyptian Therapeutæ and the old Essenes of Pales-

[1] Prof. Wilson, in *Asiat. Res.* XVI. 38. See also Mr. Hardy's *Eastern Monachism*, and M. Pavie's critique on it in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1854, Tome v. 'The type of those devotees,' writes Mr. H. T. Prinsep, (*Tibet*, p. 150, Lond 1852,) 'who practised penances and sat on pillars, like Simeon Stylites,' are still found at Koon-boom and in Tibet.

[2] See above, pp. 239, 240.

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tine; the members, in their dress and habits, most of all resembling[1] those of the religious orders who still swarm in Tibet and Ceylon. When Christianity was suffered to ally itself with the monastic tendencies so characteristic of the eastern mind, some justification would be doubtless found in the ungenial aspect of the age and in the feelings which might naturally impel an earnest spirit to recoil from the great centres of corruption, and erect itself a shelter from the inroads of barbarians and the storms of public life. It is indisputable also that, in spite of morbid symptoms[2] pointing to a different conclusion, a new character was at once imparted to this foreign mode of life by contact with the principles of the Gospel; and that, being thus ennobled, the monastic institute was frequently converted by the gracious providence of God into an apt and salutary agent for the training of the Christian scholar and the propagation of the Christian faith. Yet after all such benefits are estimated at their very highest worth, monasticism remains in its idea and essence inconsistent with the proper genius of revealed religion. It can draw no sanctions from the writings of the Old Testament;[3] it is repugnant to the spirit

no genuine fruit of Christianity.

[1] See Elphinstone's *India*, p. 107.

[2] The histories and legends of the fourth and following century abound in illustrations of the lamentable errors and extravagances resulting from the prevalent passion in favour of monasticism. Some examples are collected by Neander, *Ch. Hist.* III. 337 sq. He particularly draws attention to the sect of Euchites, who, as he reminds us, constituted the first order of 'mendicant friars' (p. 342) within the pale of Christianity.

[3] It is worthy of notice that when Beda was requested by his friend, the bishop of Hexham, to compile an exposition of the first book of Samuel, he felt himself constrained to use the allegorical method of interpretation, because, as he remarked, the literal would no more apply to persons who alone were in a condition to pro-

of the New. Though Christianity is found to be unsparing in its condemnation of all forms of worldliness, and though it teaches as was never taught before 'a total separation from all bonds considered as merely earthly,' it has nevertheless repudiated the heathenish idea[1] that any creature of God is evil in itself, or is, in other words, the product of ungodlike beings like the Gnostic demiurgus. Christianity so far from doing violence to any of our natural duties and relationships has consecrated all of them afresh; so far from labouring to pluck up the instincts and affections proper to humanity, it renders them more true and sensitive, because it renders them more Christ-like; purifying and refining and ennobling. Christianity, again, forbids the spiritual warrior to throw down his arms and quit the post of danger and of duty. His vocation is to benefit the world by his example, to be *in* it, but not *of* it, and, himself made luminous by fellowship with Christ, to 'let his light so shine before men, that they may see his good works, and glorify his Father who is in heaven.' And such was also the conviction of the early Christians. When the heathen were disposed to charge them with indifference to the practical business of society and the requirements of the state, the accusation was indignantly rejected by their ardent and severe apologist:[2] 'We are no Brachmans,' he could

fit by his labours; 'quibus ecclesiasticæ vitæ consuetudine longe fieri ab uxoris complexu et cœlebes manere propositum est.' *Works*, ed. Giles, VII. 369.

[1] Dr. Kay, Principal of Bishop's College, Calcutta, has recently discussed this subject, with special reference to Hindú theories, in his excellent essay on *The Promises of Christianity*, Oxf. 1855.

[2] Tertullian *Apologet.* c. XLII. The whole passage is remarkable: 'Sed alio quoque injuriarum titulo postulamur, et infructuosi in negotiis dicimur: quo pacto homines vobiscum degentes, ejusdem victus, habitus, instructus, ejusdem

CHAP. IV. add, 'nor Indian Gymnosophists, dwellers in woods, estranged from the affairs of life. We know that our duty is to give thanks for every thing to God, the Lord and the Creator. We are far from wishing to repudiate any one of His works. We are temperate, it is true, and learn to use without abusing.'

Hindûism and Christianity in their ultimate consequences.

(3) But granting, for the sake of argument, that real and profound resemblances did often come to light in the development of the religions we have just considered; granting that some points of contact can be shewn to have existed in the growth of Bráhmanism and Hebraism on one side, and of Buddhism and Christianity on the other; granting even, as one writer has of late contended, that there is as much in the records of Hindú systems 'of what was parallel, as of what was antagonistic to the Gospel;'[1] let us test these suppositions in a different way, and measure the alleged affinities by following out the principles from which they are believed to flow into their logical consequences and their practical results. Now Bráhmanism, as understood by all philosophers, was uniformly striving to obtain exemption from the liability to repeated births: its ultimate effort was to give such kinds of knowledge to its votary as enabled him to say, 'I am Brahma,' 'I am All that is.' As soon as ever this exalted standing has been gained,

ad vitam necessitatis? Neque enim Brachmanæ, aut Indorum gymnosophistæ sumus, sylvicolæ et exules vitæ. Meminimus gratiam nos debere Domino Deo Creatori [cf. 1 Tim. iv. 3, 4]; nullum fructum operum ejus repudiamus: plane temperamus ne ultra modum aut perperam utamur.'

[1] Prof. Jowett, *Epistles of St. Paul*, &c. II. 385, 386. Lond. 1855. 'The living, perfect truth has points of tangency for the one-sided forms of error; though we may not be thereby enabled to put together the perfect whole from the scattered and repellent fragments.' Neander, *Life of Christ*, p. 41.

the transmigration of the spirit ceases; but exactly at the point where the resemblances to Christianity might be expected to attain their fulness, the divergence is most fundamental and entire. The act of reabsorption, every Bráhman argues, will destroy the personality of the human subject; his mental and moral organisation is utterly subverted, superseded, and dissolved. 'Annihilation, therefore, as regards the individual being is in Bráhmanism as much the ultimate destiny of the soul as it is of the body, and "Not to be" is the melancholy result of the religion and philosophy of the Hindús."[1] And if the end of all their mighty speculations be thus cold and desolating, what shall be our judgment of the younger system of philosophy, which, affecting to restore and purify the ancient creed, reduced it to more dismal blanks, and lengthened out the awful series of negations? The common cry of Buddhism was: 'It is transient; it is wretched; it is void.' With these reflections on the emptiness of all around him, the philosopher was labouring to appease the hunger of the human spirit; or if he ventured to discourse of future recompense and liberation from the evil of our present lot, the goal to which he ever pointed is the state where all the elements that enter into our idea of being will be utterly exhausted and burnt out. The heaven of philosophic Buddhism is *nirvána*. 'The mighty efforts of science in the ancient world have only issued in the forming of a vast and universal abstraction. They gave birth to Buddhism, a system in which there is no longer more than one sole existence, the Absolute,—a system, and in which

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[1] Prof. Wilson, *Lectures*, p. 65.

CHAP. IV. this same existence is the infinite Void resembling non-existence. Here, then, is the furthest bound that could be reached by science, when applied to spiritual and divine things; it is the deification of Nothing."[1]

On the other hand, we cannot fail to notice how revealed religion, with each phase of its development, had grown more positive in its form, and brought men better tidings. It was eminently hopeful and constructive. It unfolded the great truth, that man is in the present life preparing for his ultimate condition; that he now begins to be what he will be for ever. It preaches more and more distinctly of the sacredness of human nature, as restored and glorified in Christ; it lays new stress on the material part of man, as wedded to his individual spirit, and as destined with that spirit to live on for ever; and thus, while Buddhism plants us in a sepulchre and extols *it* as our place of refuge from all human sorrows and all burdens of the flesh, the Gospel rolls away the stone from the door of the sepulchre; it makes us free indeed, and points us to the ultimate 'redemption of the body' and the glorification of our whole humanity.

Buddhism, as a popular religion.

It is far, however, from my wish, in charging Buddhism with those fearful consequences, to deny or question the amount of social benefit resulting from its propagation in some parts of central and eastern Asia. Popular Buddhism, intermingled, as it is, with older maxims and more positive traditions, is far better than the nihilistic Buddhism of philosophy: and, accordingly, in this, as in some

[1] Gabriel, *Théodicée Pratique*, p. 84. Paris, 1855.

other cases where the territory invaded by the new religion was before in the possession of a ruder and more sanguinary creed, it may have doubtless proved an engine for exalting the character of millions who embraced it, and, to some extent, may have prepared a way for Christianity.[1] But that far more powerful agencies are still required among them is apparent, from the utter inability of Buddhism,[2] even where it most predominates, to satisfy the reclamation of man's conscience, and to banish the hereditary demon-worship and the vulgar deprecation of the serpent.[3]

One-sidedness of eastern speculations.

(4) There is one more special point of view in which the truths of Christianity may be most forcibly contrasted with the best and brightest products of eastern speculation. All these varied products, estimated at their highest value, were but faint approximations to the sum of living and life-giving verities transmitted to us from the Founder of the Christian Church. When brought into comparison with the

[1] Upham has the following note on a passage in the *Sacred Books of Ceylon*, II. 54, which inculcates the greatest tenderness in treating animals: 'Although the present state of Buddhism properly excites our strongest interest and exertions to turn its followers from the blindness and selfishness of its modern tenets to the brightness of the Christian revelation: yet, in this passage, as well as in the simple offerings of fragrant perfumes and flowers, *contrasted with the cannibalism and serpent-and demon-rites* it supplanted, the Buddhist doctrine must be esteemed to have been a great blessing and amelioration.' Wuttke, in like manner, rejoices to record the humanising influence of Buddhism when introduced, in connexion with other creeds, among the brutal hordes of Chingiskhan (I. 248). Tennent makes the same admission in reference to all the countries of eastern and central Asia. He says (*Christianity in Ceylon*, pp. 203, 204) that it was 'an active agent in the promotion of whatever civilisation afterwards enlightened those races by whom its doctrines were embraced.'

[2] 'Der Hülle ist geblieben, der Geist gewichen: der Buddhismus ist jetzt eine Mumie.' Wuttke, II. 590.

[3] *e.g.* Tennent, as above, p. 232.

CHAP. IV. Gospel, they are poor and meagre, partial and one-sided. He who watches some of the more mighty fluctuations of the Hindú spirit, in its effort to escape from speculative difficulties and solve the awful riddles by which it is oppressed, will see it here and there approaching, if not touching, a great line of thought, which, when pursued, might possibly have issued in the scriptural solution; yet ere long the cheering hopes which progress of this kind might foster are all doomed to disappointment. The speculator seems to be diverted from his proper object by the intervention of some fresh chimera or some puerile conceit; he loses his mental balance, and the fruit of all his metaphysics is a maimed or transcendental theory of the universe repugnant to his moral instincts. Thus, how much soever we may be disposed to chafe at these phenomena of heathenism, the fact remains indisputable, that if we add together and combine all single truths elicited by the profoundest thinkers in the various schools of Bráhmanic philosophy, such contributions are all very far from making up the circle of Christian theism; they cover only some few corners of the field of revelation.[1]

Hindú ideas of God and the universe;

For example, He whom Christians worship is a Being higher far, and far more truly God-like, than the worthiest of Hindú conceptions. These, indeed, are not unwilling to recognise the main distinction

[1] Cf. Dean Trench's *Hulsean Lectures* (1846), p. 58: 'And thus each of the great divisions of the Gentile world had but a fragment, even in thought, of the truth: the Greek world, the exaltation of manhood; the Oriental, the glorious humiliation of Godhead: and thus, each of these, even as a speculation, was maimed and imperfect. These systems, so far from providing what men needed, had not satisfactorily and on every side even contemplated what he needed; much less had they given it.'

drawn in Holy Scripture between the subject and the object,—the finite and the infinite. They all regard the perfect extrication of material from immaterial as the end and aim of true philosophy. While rejecting or ignoring the idea of created spirits,[1] as distinct from emanations, they are all in favour of the doctrine of a great and universal Soul,—*the* substance, *the* reality. Some, moreover, have contended that this Great Soul is one, or simple; others, that it is resolvable into parts, and therefore multiform and manifold; yet all of them agree in treating it as the original and self-dependent Something, over and beyond which is no other entity; they are alike desirous to exalt it far above the possibility of future contact with the transient and phenomenal. To this supreme and all-embracing Spirit the Védántins assign not only an eternal subsistence, but also many of the specific properties which enter into our idea of personality, as intelligence, volition, and the like. CHAP. IV.

how opposed to Christianity.

Yet here the many points of similarity between their system and the Christian are exhausted, and we enter on a startling contrast. The Védántins,[2] on the one hand, labour to identify the glorious Spirit of the universe with His own production, and, in order to effect this, question the reality of the external world, and treat it as illusive; on the other hand, they totally repudiate the idea of individual existence, or of personality attaching to all rational creatures, and securing to each man the power of self-determination. A second school, or the Nyáya,

[1] See *Aphorisms of the Yoga*, ed. Ballantyne, Part I. p. 63.

[2] See a recent article in the *North British Review*, No. 49, p. 224.

CHAP. IV. recognises the personal character of God more fully; it ascribes to Him such attributes as will, activity, and intelligence; but no account whatever is taken by it of His moral government, His fatherhood, His providence, His justice, or His mercy. In this school, again, where true subsistency is granted to the world of matter, and where finite souls are recognised, the origin of both is carried backward to eternity, while all the mental and corporeal faculties possessed by human beings in one stage of their existence are in no case held to be essential parts of them, and, as such, infinite in duration. The Sánkhya system, as we saw already, occupied, in some particulars, a middle place among the jarring tenets of Hindú philosophers. It regarded matter as a real aggregate of qualities; it recognised a spiritual essence gifted with a species of volition; it pleaded even for the personal distinctness of all human souls; yet, on the other hand, it went so far as to attribute the government of the world entirely to the operation of physical agents, and made Spirit, whether human or Divine, a mere spectator in some gorgeous and gigantic drama. Indeed, the one school of Hindú philosophy among whose tenets the idea of a Divine providence was clearly and consistently developed, is the latest modification[1] of the Sánkhya system; and even this, I should again remark, might be indebted for its higher characteristics to some intercourse with Christianity.

A fresh specimen of one-sidedness.

Another instance of the general inability of Hindúism to contemplate religious truth under more than one of its manifold aspects was furnished by the

[1] Above, p. 216.

Bhagavad-Gítá; which, when its large and comprehensive spirit is remembered, might be deemed the least of all amenable to this censure. I have before alluded to the stern and naked Pantheism which it preaches; but the want of balance in its author is no less strikingly apparent in discussing moral questions. So long as he is aiming merely to destroy the errors of an older creed,—so long as he exposes the narrowness, the spiritual pride, the dreamy indolence, and inefficiency of the Yoga-system, his criticism is often most acute, his logic overwhelming; but as soon as ever he attempts to cure the evil he complains of, it is manifest that the remedy is utterly inadequate: it is a tissue of self-contradictions, a huge mass of unrealities. The genuine devotee, the *Karma-yogin*, is to suffer and to act in every case without emotion and without regard to consequences. He must pluck up all within him that may serve to foster the illusions of the human and that interferes with the development of the divine: affections, be they pure or impure; instincts, whether high and noble or unworthy and corrupted; sympathies, inwoven though they be with all the innermost fibres of his being; and when at last he yields assent to the unnatural conclusion that the real dignity of man consists in utter abnegation of self-consciousness, he rises to the fulness of his ultimate condition,—absorbed in breathless calm and frigid apathy, a stranger to the impulses of nature, dead to all the duties and enjoyments of religion. CHAP. IV.

Degeneracy inherent in Brâhmanism.

But, further, it is prominently brought before us in the annals of Hindúism, that the highest minds have always been most prone to drift away from the

CHAP. IV. positions of their own acquiring, and have gradually relaxed their hold on the more spiritual portions of the ancient creed. For instance, all the loftier thoughts of God were once connected with a special veneration of the first member of the Hindú triad. Sacerdotal Áryans stood in a peculiarly close relation to Brahmá; they were esteemed the privileged offspring of his head; and, therefore, if the great idea of unity was ever to be vindicated from the ravages of Polytheism, the natural way to such a restoration was by passing upward from the Bráhman to Brahmá, and thence to Brahma, the pure Spirit of the universe; the lower emanation serving as an index to the higher, and this again directly guiding to the Source of all created being and the simple Origin of all things. But so far were Bráhmans, as an order, from desiring such recovery, that they gradually abandoned their belief in one divine Administrator of the world;[1] and, instead of seeking refuge in the worship of Vishńu, whose milder incarnations were attracting to his altars the more gentle souls of the community, the members of the sacerdotal class selected for their patron-god that very inmate of the pantheon who had long been dreaded as the primary cause of desolation, and is worshipped as the animal[2] divinity of modern Hindústán. The Bráh-

[1] Elphinstone's *India*, pp. 90, 101. 'The opinion of the vulgar,' he remarks, 'is more rational than that of their teachers: they [the vulgar] mix up the idea of the Supreme Being with that of the deity who is the particular object of their adoration, and suppose him to watch over the actions of men, and to reward the good and punish the wicked.'

[2] This peculiarity is sufficiently indicated by the fact that Śiva, since the 8th or 9th century of our era (cf. above, p. 189, n. 1) has been worshipped under the symbol of the phallus (or *linga*), intimating perhaps that his destructive powers have always reference to some future reproduction.

man is, in other words, the special votary of Śiva,— of him who is invested by popular imagination with most hideous and appalling attributes,—of him who is described in their Puráñas,[1] 'wandering about, surrounded by ghosts and goblins, inebriated, naked, and with dishevelled hair, covered with the ashes of a funeral pile, ornamented with human skulls and bones, sometimes laughing, sometimes crying.' I should also add, for the completion of this melancholy picture, that the votaries of Śiva, and still more of Dévi, his consort, who is singly venerated by a large proportion of the people in Bengal, are ready to undergo excruciating tortures in honour of their divinity. 'Some stab their limbs and pierce their tongues with knives, and walk in procession with swords, arrows, and even living serpents, thrust through the wounds; while others are raised into the air by a hook fixed in the flesh of their backs, and are whirled round by a moveable lever, at a height which would make their destruction inevitable, if the skin were to give way.'[2] CHAP. IV.

The remedy supplied in Christianity.

(5) But, turning from these dark and ghastly spectacles, which seem to be among the ripest products of the pagan mind of India, it is most consolatory to reflect that there is still within our reach the grand corrective and the sovereign antidote.

While heathen systems are unequal to the work of rectifying the infatuations of the human spirit and of cancelling human guilt,—while, even at the best, the authors of those systems can only here and there

[1] Elphinstone, p. 89. It is also very remarkable that Śiva-worship, notwithstanding the apparent incompatibility, has in later times been found in close alliance with Buddhism: Stuhr, I. 209.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 90.

CHAP. IV. find out some fragmentary truth, but are all powerless in determining its precise relation to other verities or binding them together in one definite body of belief, the Gospel has at length successfully encountered the great problem; it has furnished what must ever be regarded, even from a 'rational'[1] point of view, the only fitting and profound solution.

It does not, indeed, profess to clear away all shades of intellectual difficulty: the imparting of a merely speculative satisfaction was never made a primary object in the plan of its great Author. It is even ready to acknowledge, by the lips of an Apostle, that, if measured not by present, but ulterior standards of illumination, we see only 'through a glass,' while that which we behold is still encompassed with 'enigmas' (1 Cor. xiii. 12). Yet, compared with all the previous legacies of God, the Gospel is a boon immeasurably vast, incalculably precious. On the one side, it has clearly taken into its account of man, not some, but *all* the factors of his complex being, and, in harmony with this conception, it asserts, as no anterior system had been able to assert, the primal dignity of human nature, and, still more, the permanence of human personality. On the other side, the Gospel harmonizes and collects together in one focus all the scattered and enfeebled rays of truth concerning God and His relation to the creature. It produces them in their original unity and fulness, not as fragments isolated from the other truths which are essential to their rightful action and their just

[1] That this view of Christianity is neither novel nor unworthy, may be seen in the *Ars Generalis* of the excellent Raymund Lull, the philosophic missionary of the 13th century; on whom see Neander, *Ch. Hist.* VII. 83 sq.

interpretation, but as one coherent, living, and organic whole. In this, indeed, we recognise a leading aim and characteristic of the Gospel. It is far from seeking to establish the reality of spirit by denying the reality of matter. It is far from elevating human souls in such a way as to annihilate the human body. In the world of thought it does not so insist on the objective as to question or deny the subjective. It does not so discover God in nature as to miss Him in the province of the supernatural or exclude Him from His temple in the mind and heart of man. It does not so maintain the power and privileges of the corporate as to cripple or suppress the action of the individual. It never so proclaims the monarchy of God as to deprive the human agent of his self-determination, and thus make him irresponsible. It never so expatiates on the details of the future kingdom as to dazzle our imperfect understanding or blind us to the duties of our present lot. There is, in other words, a marvellous and majestic balance in the doctrines which the Gospel has been authorised to bring before us; and the point round which that balance is effected, or as seen from which all other elements in the Christian system have derived their mutual fitness, is the glorious truth,[1] announcing how the Word, who is with God and is God, has verily assumed our human nature, and how God in Him is 'reconciling the world unto Him-

[1] 'We say that the divine ideas which had wandered up and down the world, till oftentimes they had well-nigh forgotten themselves and their origin, did at length clothe themselves in flesh and blood: they became incarnate with the Incarnation of the Son of God. In His life and person, the idea and the fact at length kissed each other, and were henceforward wedded for evermore.' Dean Trench, *Hulsean Lectures*, (1846), p. 20.

CHAP. IV. self, not imputing unto them their trespasses.' The Incarnation, while it forms the turning-point of universal history, is more especially the life and marrow of all Christian dogmas. Wheresoever it has been distinctly apprehended by the reason and digested in the soul of man, there is an end of creature-worship. Those ineradicable instincts of our nature which had driven so many of the pensive spirits of the ancient world to fashion for themselves elaborate theories of transmigration, and, through consciousness of their demerit, to persist in torturing out the remnants of their evil passions, find in Christ their proper object and their permanent satisfaction. He whose life is 'hid with Christ in God' is able to approach the throne of grace with holy confidence; he looks forward to the world invisible with awe indeed, but with no abject shrinking, and no slavish terror; his unswerving hope is to be there 'accepted in the Beloved,' who has gone as our Forerunner to the inmost glories of the sanctuary; 'who ever liveth to make intercession for us.' 'Taking to Himself our flesh, and by His incarnation making it His own flesh, He hath now of His own, although from us, what to offer unto God for us.'[1]

St. Paul's mode of treating heathenish interpolations.

'In Him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily; and ye are filled up in Him.' Thus argued the great Doctor of the Gentiles, who, in writing to the Phrygian Church (Col. ii.), was under the necessity of checking one of the most early manifestations of that ethnic spirit which ere long expanded into Gnosticism, and threatened to degrade the Gospel of his heavenly Master into one of the effete philosophies.

[1] Hooker, *Eccl. Pol.* v. li. 3.

The object of the misbeliever at Colossæ was not, perhaps, so definite as this; he may have merely sought to blend with Christianity a number of Judaical observances, whose meaning had been swallowed up in evangelic institutions. Yet his aim was also to resuscitate the past and reinaugurate the reign of shadows. He was anxious, in a spirit of assumed humility, and as the fruit of visions claimed especially for himself, to introduce the worship of the angels and of other finite emanations, like the Indian *dévas;* while, to finish the incongruous compound, he was pleading for a class of disciplinary tenets which, in the rigour of their asceticism, would lift him almost to a level with the self-destroying *yogin* of the East.

But how, in such a case, did the Apostle combat the pretensions of 'philosophy and vain deceit'? He reasoned with still greater urgency for the transcendent Headship of the Word Incarnate,—for that 'truth of truths' which, lying at the very core of Christianity, was the first to suffer from attacks of the confirmed believer in a spurious Gnosis.[1] So it was at Ephesus, where, not many years after, a denial of the Incarnation was more openly united with unchristian dread of all material forms of being, and commended to the undiscerning by extreme asceticism of life (1 Tim. iii. 16—iv. 5). The fautors of that early error were, accordingly, warned by the Apostle of the consequences that were sure to flow from their attempted intermixtures. They were taught how every project for combining with a supernatural revelation the theosophy of the Essene, or the self-torture of the Hindú hermit, was derogatory to the honour

[1] Thiersch, *Ch. Hist.* I. 139.

CHAP. IV. of our blessed Lord, was utterly at variance with the genius of the perfect system He had planted. They were taught how Christians had been raised, by fellowship with Christ, far higher than the shadowy ordinances of the old œconomy, and, still more, could have no need of supplementary illumination from extraneous sources. They were taught how Christians, cleaving to the Head, could never be dependent on the intercession of created spirits, nor on aught so secondary and so intermediate. They were taught how the ascetical extravagances to which they had been tempted were but 'elements of the world'; traditions emanating not from heaven, but from the breast of unregenerate man, and, therefore, alien to the Law of Christ. They were admonished, most of all, (and would that such an admonition may be echoed on to every period of the Church beset by like temptations!) that, as Christ, and Christ alone, is the Fulfilment of all ancient hopes, the Substance of all ancient shadows, so all Christian *progress*, whether in the apprehension by the Church of things revealed to us already, or in wider publication of good tidings to the heart-sick millions still 'without,' must have its origin, its root, and its sustaining principle in Him 'from whom all the body, having nourishment ministered and knit together by the joints and bands, increaseth with the increase of God.'

APPENDIX I.

The Nishádan *or* non-Áryan *Tribes of Hindústán, and some account of their Religion.*

IT is now admitted on all hands that certain primary strata of population, by whatever name they may be called, had long extended over all parts of India, when they were attacked and gradually dispersed by the incursions of the Áryan settlers. Remnants of such original population are still found in all the various mountain-tribes, and more especially among the natives of the Dekhan, to the south of the great Vindhya-chain. In the age of Manu, or rather at the time when laws and institutes which bear his name were promulgáted, the Áryan had not been able to push further southward than the 22nd degree of north latitude, and beyond him lay a mass of human beings, who are there described as 'barbarians living in forests, and speaking an unknown tongue.' (See *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, XIII. 277, 278.) Abundant traces of their presence have been also brought to light by the publication of the Védas. In these ancient documents, one ordinary name for all who ventured to resist the onward march of the invaders, or the men of 'Áryan colour,' is that of 'Dasyus' (cf. above, p. 187, n. 1). The same uncouth and 'irreligious' tribes are also characterized as *anagnitra:* 'those who do not tend the fire,' or 'fail to worship Agni.' Another appellation of a similar import, is *kravyád,* or 'flesh-eaters,' (κρεοφάγοι). In the following period, as represented in the literature of the Bráhmañas, the aboriginal population are thrown into the 'same category with thieves and criminals, who attack men in forests, throw them into wells, and run away with their goods' (Prof. Max Müller in Bunsen's *Univ. Hist.* I. 346). In the Puráñas 'the

APPEND. I. inhabitants of the Vindhya mountain,' called Nishádas, are said to be 'characterized by the exterior tokens of depravity' (*Vishńu Pur.* ed. Wilson, p. 100). 'The Matsya says, there were born outcast or barbarous races, Mléchchas, as black as collyrium. The Bhágavata describes an individual of dwarfish stature, with short arms and legs, of a complexion as black as a crow, with projecting chin, broad flat nose, red eyes, and tawny hair; whose descendants were mountaineers and foresters. The Padma has a similar description, adding to the dwarfish stature and black complexion, a wide mouth, large ears, and a protuberant belly. It also particularizes his posterity as Nishádas, Kirátas, Bhillas, Bahanakas, Bhramaras, Pulindas, and other barbarians, or Mléchchas, living in woods and on mountains.' 'These passages intend,' continues Prof. Wilson (*Ibid.* p. 101, n.), 'and do not much exaggerate, the uncouth appearance of the Goands, Koles, Bhils, and other uncivilized tribes, scattered along the forests and mountains of central India, from Behar to Kandesh, and who are not improbably the predecessors of the present occupants of the cultivated portions of the country. They are always very black, ill-shapen and dwarfish, and have countenances of a very African character.' To these must also be applied the language of Herodotus, where he speaks of black and savage Indians (cf. Lassen, I. 389).

As the Áryans by the force of conquest gradually extended their original frontiers, they would either subjugate the old inhabitants entirely and reduce them to the state of Śúdras, serfs and menials, or else would push them all into the mountain-fastnesses, or lastly drive them forward to the southern part of the Peninsula.

1. In the first case, the position of the rude Nishádas would become most wretched and humiliating. As early as the laws of Manu (ch. x.) it was ordained that—

Their abode must be outside the towns.
Their property must be restricted to dogs and asses.
Their clothes should be those left by the dead.
Their ornaments, rusty iron.
They must roam from place to place.
No respectable person must hold intercourse with them.

They are to aid as public executioners, retaining the clothes, &c. of the criminals. APPEND. I.

A class of serfs, who answer in the main to this description, still exist in almost every province of Hindústán: and the following contrasts, for which we are indebted to the pen of General Briggs (*Journal of the Asiatic Society*, XIII. 282, 283), may serve to indicate how widely the aborigines had always differed from the Áryan conquerors.

1. Hindús are divided into castes.
   The aborigines have no such distinctions.
2. Hindú widows are forbidden to marry.
   The widows of the aborigines not only do so, but usually with the younger brother of the late husband—a practice they follow in common with the Scythian tribes.
3. The Hindús venerate the cow and abstain from eating beef.
   The aborigines feed alike on all flesh.
4. The Hindús abstain from the use of fermented liquors.
   The aborigines drink to excess; and conceive no ceremony, civil or religious, complete without.
5. The Hindús partake of food prepared only by those of their own caste.
   The aborigines partake of food prepared by any one.
6. The Hindús abhor the spilling of blood.
   The aborigines conceive no religious or domestic ceremony complete without the spilling of blood and offering up a live victim.
7. The Hindús have a Bráhmanical priesthood.
   The indigenes do not venerate Bráhmans. Their own priests (who are self-created) are respected according to their mode of life and their skill in magic and sorcery, in divining future events and in curing diseases: these are the qualifications which authorise their employment in slaying sacrificial victims and in distributing them.
8. The Hindús burn their dead.
   The aborigines bury their dead, and with them their arms, sometimes their cattle, as among the Scythians. On such occasions a victim ought to be sacrificed to atone for the sins of the deceased.

APPEND. I.

9. The Hindú civil institutions are all municipal.
   The aboriginal institutions are all patriarchal.
10. The Hindús have their courts of justice composed of equals.
   The aborigines have theirs composed of heads of tribes or families, and chosen for life.
11. The Hindús brought with them (more than three thousand years ago) the art of writing and science.
   The indigenes are not only illiterate, but it is forbidden for the Hindús to teach them.

2. But although a great majority of aborigines in northern India had been thus imperfectly blended with the Áryan strangers who subdued them, others have retained a large amount of savage independence in the mountain-fastnesses to which they had retreated (*e. g.* the Bhils, the Mirs, the Khulis, the Goands: cf. Prichard, *Researches*, IV. 166 sq.). Every year is adding to our knowledge of their general habits as well as of their language and religion: and it is gratifying to notice that the best informed of modern writers on the subject are more and more agreed as to the oneness of the stamp impressed on all the aborigines of India, however multiform and scattered at the present day. That general stamp is said to be 'Mongolian' (Prof. Max Müller, as above, p. 348). The various tribes appear to have issued, like their Áryan successors, from the northern parts of Hindústán, and to have all spoken a language belonging to the Tamil (or Turanian) as distinguished from the Sanskrit (or Indo-European) stock. Recent occurrences have brought the English government into collision with one of these hill-tribes, the Sontáls, who are scattered over the country in considerable numbers from Cattack to Bhagalpur (see *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, as above, p. 285): but the most copious and interesting account of the religious character and condition of the whole group, is furnished in a memoir by Captain (now Major) S. C. Macpherson (*Ibid.* pp. 216—274). The title of his paper is *An Account of the Religion of the Khonds in Orissa* (*i. e.* Uria-desa, 'land of the Urias,' lying between the eastern mountains of the Dekhan and the sea-coast). After citing numerous legends in illustration of the doctrines there current,

Major Macpherson has exhibited the main features of the Khond religion in the following summary (p. 273): 'The Supreme Being and sole source of good, who is styled the God of light [Boora Pennu or Bella Pennu] created for himself a consort, who became the Earth-Goddess [Tari Pennu or Bera Pennu] and the source of evil: and thereafter, he created the earth, with all it contains, and man. The Earth-Goddess, prompted by jealousy of the love borne to man by his Creator, rebelled against the God of Light, and introduced moral and physical evil into the world. The God of Light arrested the action of physical evil, while he left man perfectly free to receive or to reject moral evil,—defined to be "disobedience towards God, and strife amongst men." A few of mankind entirely rejected moral evil, the remainder received it. The former portion were immediately deified; the latter were condemned to endure every form of physical suffering, with death, deprivation of the immediate care of the Creator, and the deepest moral degradation. Meanwhile, the God of Light and his rebel consort contended for superiority, until the elements of good and evil became thoroughly commingled in man and throughout nature. APPEND. I.

'Up to this period the Khonds hold the same general belief, but from it they divide into two sects, directly opposed upon the question of the issue of the contest between the two antagonist powers.

'One sect holds that the God of Light completely conquered the Earth-Goddess, and employs her, still the active principle of evil, as the instrument of his moral rule. That he resolved to provide a partial remedy for the consequences of the introduction of evil, by enabling man to attain to a state of moderate enjoyment upon earth, and to partial restoration to communion with the Creator after death. And that, to effect this purpose, he created those classes of subordinate deities, and assigned to them the office—first, of instructing man in the arts of life, and regulating the powers of nature for his use, upon the condition of his paying to them due worship; secondly, of administering a system of retributive justice through subjection to which, and through the practice of virtue during successive lives upon earth, the soul of man might attain to beatification.

APPEND. I. The other sect hold, upon the other hand, that the Earth-Goddess remains unconquered; that the God of Light could not, in opposition to her will, carry out his purpose with respect to man's temporal lot; and that man, therefore, owes his elevation from the state of physical suffering into which he fell through the reception of evil, to the direct exercise of her power to confer blessings, or to her permitting him to receive the good which flows from the God of Light, through the inferior gods, to all who worship them. With respect to man's destiny after death, they believe that the God of Light carried out his purpose. And they believe that the worship of the Earth-Goddess by human sacrifice, is the indispensable condition on which these blessings have been granted, and their continuance may be hoped for; the virtue of the rite availing not only for those who practise it, but for all mankind.'

In addition to these human sacrifices, which still continue to be offered annually, in order to appease the wrath of Tari and propitiate her in favour of agriculture, there is a fearful amount of infanticide among the Khond people. 'It exists in some of the tribes of the sect of Boora to such an extent, that no female infant is spared, except when a woman's first child is female; and that villages containing a hundred houses may be seen without a female child' (*Ibid.* p. 270).

3. But, in addition to the wild and barbarous mountaineers whose creed is sketched in the foregoing extract, there was always a large body of Nishádan, or non-Áryan, tribes of India who retained their former hold on nearly all the southern part of the Peninsula, and ultimately, with the aid of Áryan influence, reached a high degree of civilization. 'We find the Dekhan occupied entirely by aboriginal races, with only a small and late sprinkling of Bráhmanic blood. Civilization there is Bráhmanic, and the native languages are full of Sanskrit vocables; but the grammar has resisted, and language has thus retained its independence' (Prof. Max Müller, as above, p. 432). Mr. Caldwell, in his able work entitled *A Comparative Grammar of the Drávidian* [Tamil], *or South-Indian Family of Languages*, Lond. 1856, has disputed some of the current theories respecting this section of the non-Áryan races of India. He doubts whether the Drávidians were in

origin identical with the Áryanised Súdras of Northern Hindústán (p. 70), and is inclined to argue, from 'the difference which appears to exist between the Drávidian languages and the Scythian under-stratum of the northern vernaculars,' that 'the Drávidian idioms belong to an older period of the Scythian speech—the period of the predominance of the Ugro-Finnish languages in Central and Higher Asia, anterior to the westward migration of the Turks and Mongolians.' He is also convinced that the 'Drávidians never had any relations with the primitive Áryans but those of a peaceable and friendly character; and that, if they were expelled from Northern India, and forced to take refuge in Gondwana and Dánda-Kárñaya, the great Drávidian forest, prior to the dawn of their civilization, the tribes that subdued and thrust them southwards must have been Pre-Áryans.'

Mr. Caldwell, however, does not wish to disguise the fact, that even if the Drávidians had not sunk as low as the Puráñas seem to intimate, when branding them with the name of rákshasas, or monkeys, or vile sinners who ate raw meat and human flesh, they were for a long time 'destitute of letters and unacquainted with the higher arts of life' (p. 77). In their religious worship, also, these Drávidians differed widely from the creed and usages of the Bráhmans: and, what is especially worthy of our notice, Mr. Caldwell has distinctly shewn the similarity between the former and the practices observed for ages among the Scythian tribes of Northern Asia.

'The system which prevails in the forests and mountain-fastnesses throughout the Drávidian territories, and also in the extreme south of the Peninsula amongst the low caste tribes, and which appears to have been still more widely prevalent at an early period, is a system of demonolatry, or the worship of evil spirits by means of bloody sacrifices and frantic dances. This system was introduced within the historical period from the Tamil country into Ceylon, where it is now mixed up with Buddhism. On comparing this Drávidian system of demonolatry and sorcery with 'Shamanism'—the superstition which prevails amongst the Ugrian races of Siberia and the hill-tribes[1] on the

[1] In E. T. Turnerelli's work on *Kazan*, II. 116 sq., we have some account of the Tchouvash and other aboriginal tribes of the neighbourhood. They

APPEND. I. south-western frontier of China, which is still mixed up with the Buddhism of the Mongols, and which was the old religion of the whole Tatar race before Buddhism and Mohammedanism were disseminated amongst them—we cannot avoid the conclusion that those two superstitions, though practised by races so widely separated, are not only similar but identical.

'I shall here point out the principal features of resemblance between the Shamanism of High Asia and the demonolatry of the Drávidians, as still practised in many districts in Southern India.

'(1) The Shamanites are destitute of a regular priesthood. Ordinarily the father of the family is the priest and magician; but the office may be undertaken by any one who pleases, and at any time laid aside.

'Precisely similar is the practice existing amongst the Shánárs and other rude tribes of Southern India. Ordinarily it is the head of the family, or the head-man of the hamlet or community, who performs the priestly office: but any worshipper, male or female, who feels so disposed, may volunteer to officiate, and becomes for the time being the representative and interpreter of the demon.

'(2) The Shamanites acknowledge the existence of a supreme God; but they do not offer him any worship. The same acknowledgment of God's existence and the same neglect of his worship characterize the religion of the Drávidian demonolaters.

'(3) Neither amongst the Shamanites nor amongst the primitive un-brahmanized demonolaters of India is there any trace of belief in the metempsychosis.

'(4) The objects of Shamanite worship are not gods or heroes, but demons, which are supposed to be cruel, revengeful, and capricious, and are worshipped by bloody sacrifices and wild dances. The officiating magician or priest excites himself to frenzy, and then pretends, or supposes himself, to be possessed by the demon to which worship is being offered; and after the

were said to be of Finnish origin. They recognise two principles, of good and evil; the good Genius requiring no worship, and rarely receiving any, the evil Genius (Keremet) being constantly appeased by sacrifice (p. 133). Their chief priest (Jomza) unites in his own person the offices of priest, soothsayer, sorcerer, and physician.

rites are over he communicates, to those who consult him, the information he has received. APPEND. I.

'The demonolatry practised in India by the more primitive Drávidian tribes is not only similar to this, but the same. Every word used in the foregoing description of the Shamanite worship would apply equally well to the Drávidian demonolatry; and in depicting the ceremonies of the one race we depict those of the other also.'

APPENDIX II.

Coincidences between Lamaism and Mediæval Christianity.

APPEN. II.

Mr. H. T. Prinsep, in his recent work on *Tibet, Tartary, and Mongolia*, 2nd ed. Lond. 1852, has, with the aid of MM. Huc and Gabet's *Voyages dans la Tartarie, &c.*, revived a question of some importance touching the origin of various parallelisms between Buddhism, as organized in those districts, and certain forms or usages of Mediæval Christianity. Some, at least, of these phenomena had excited the astonishment of Latin missionaries as far back as the middle of the thirteenth century, who explained them on the supposition that Lamaism was not so much one phase of Buddhism as a remnant of the influence exercised in those remote districts by the missions of the 'Nestorian' Church.[1] In 1661 two Jesuits, Grueber and Dorville, in their return from China, penetrated far into Tibet and brought accounts of extraordinary resemblances between the faith of Lassa and of Rome. Mr. Davis still more recently drew attention to them in his *Remarks on the Religion and Social Institutions of the Bouteas* (Roy. Asiat. Soc. II. 491 sq.), selecting for particular comment 'The celibacy of the clergy and the monastic life of the societies of both sexes; to which might be added, their strings of beads, their manner of chanting prayers, their incense, and their candles.' Other writers have again

[1] The resemblances were afterwards explained on the hypothesis of diabolical counterfeits. 'Father Bury, a Portuguese missionary, when he beheld the [Chinese] bonzes tonsured, using rosaries, praying in an unknown tongue, and kneeling before images, exclaims in astonishment, There is not a piece of dress, not a sacerdotal function, not a ceremony of the Church of Rome, which the devil has not invented a copy of in this country.' Kesson, *The Cross and the Dragon*, p. 185, Lond. 1854. Medhurst (*China*, p. 217, Lond. 1857) points out the coincidences between Romanism and Chinese Buddhism in respect of ceremonial. He also mentions the image of a virgin ('queen of heaven'), having a child in her arms and holding a cross.

insisted on the strong resemblance between the hierarchy of the Lamas and that of western Christendom, particularly as we find it in the Middle Ages; the resemblance extending even to minor points of discipline and articles of dress. But such topics appear to have assumed no great importance in the eyes of Europe until Volney, and others like him, resolved to find in them a novel engine for subverting Christianity.

The question was then asked, By what hypothesis can we explain the striking correspondence between two systems which appear to be in other respects so totally independent? Is it the result of actual intercourse, or is it merely an extensive specimen of the way in which internal affinities of thought and sentiment will often clothe themselves in forms analogous if not identical? When the number, the variety, and the minuteness[1] of the parallelisms in question are duly weighed, the latter hypothesis will hardly commend itself to the acceptance of historical critics; and accordingly I shall adopt the former. But here again, it must be asked: Did Buddhism, in this matter, borrow from Christianity or Christianity from Buddhism? Let us first hear Mr. Prinsep's answer. Starting from the fact, that Gautama Buddha flourished long anterior to the propagation of the Gospel, and asserting further, on what authority I know not, that the principles of Buddhism were quite familiar in some parts of western Asia, not to say of Europe, under the guise of Pythagoreanism or Mithraism; this writer is prepared to argue that the early Christians were indebted to Buddhist converts for no small part of their ecclesiastical organisation.

'To a mind,' he says, 'already impressed with Boodhistic belief and Boodhistic doctrines, the birth of a Saviour and Redeemer for the western world, recognised as a new Boodh by wise men of the east, that is, by Magi, Sramanas, or Lamas, who had obtained the Arhat sanctification, was an event expected, and therefore readily accepted, when declared and

[1] The points of resemblance specified by the French missionaries are, the use of the cross, the mitre, the dalmatic, the hood, the office of two choirs, the psalmody, the exorcisms, the censer of five chains, the benediction of the lamas by placing the right hand on the head of the faithful, the rosary, celibacy of the clergy, spiritual retirement, the worship of saints, fasts, processions, litanies, and holy water. Prof. Wilson in *Journal of As. Soc.* XVI. 263.

APPEN. II. announced. It was no abjuration of an old faith [!] that the teacher of Christianity asked of the Boodhists, but a mere qualification of an existing belief by the incorporation into it of the Mosaic account of the creation, and of original sin and the fall of man. The Boodhists of the west, accepting Christianity on its first announcement, at once introduced the rites and observances which for centuries had already existed in India. From that country Christianity derived its monastic institutions, its forms of ritual and of Church-service, its councils or convocations to settle schisms on points of faith, its worship of relics, and working of miracles through them, and much of the discipline, and of the dress of the clergy, even to the shaven heads of the monks and friars.' Now if Christianity were thus fused with Buddhism 'on its first announcement,' we might surely have expected to find some definite notice, in the early Christian writers, of so marvellous an amalgamation; but instead of any single whisper on the subject, the tone in which these writers reprehend *all* forms of heathenism, is rigorous and uncompromising, and St. Paul (as we have seen) had warned the Phrygian converts in particular against the least indulgence of a spirit such as that here contemplated.

The present view is also strengthened by our survey of the fundamental principles involved in Buddhism and in Christianity. Those principles are quite incapable of intermixture: they are mutually repulsive and annihilative. I am accordingly disposed to think that during all the time that Christianity was warring against Gnostic errors, or in other words until the doctrines taught by the Apostles were completely vindicated and established, it was totally impossible for a system such as Buddhism to affect in any sensible degree the institutions of the primitive Church. The jealousy with which she guarded the deposit of the faith would surely have impelled her to resist all compromise with heathenish observances, associated as they must have been at first with heathen doctrines. That such jealousy, however, was relaxing in the fourth century of our era is too plainly manifest in the writings of the period; and I think it therefore not improbable, that together with the rapid growth of the ascetic and monastic spirit may have come a disposition to accept some portions of the rites and ceremonies which pre-

existed in the heathen monasteries of the East.[1] The same remark may possibly be extended to some other usages, as processions of images, worship of relics, pilgrimages, indulgences, and the like, which always have their root in ethnic rather than in Christian modes of thought. But whatever may be ultimately determined with regard to the precise development of these conceptions in the bosom of the Christian Church, it is, I think, extremely probable that some at least of the minute resemblances between the Buddhism of Tibet and Mediæval Christianity are directly traceable to the effect of Christian missions. Although the rise of Buddhism was very long anterior to the earliest of those missions, and although many of its peculiarities are far more ancient than the origin of Christianity itself, that form which we entitle Lamaism[2] is found to be comparatively modern,—not older than the 13th century of the present era. Buddhism, it is true, had been propagated in Tibet six hundred years before (Wuttke, II. 559); but it was only under Kublai-Khan (A.D. 1260) that the adherents of that system were reduced under the dominion of a regular hierarchy by the appointment of the first Grand Lama, and the transfer of the spiritual government of Buddhism to his hands (*Ibid.* I. 215 sq., II. 591: Abel-Rémusat, *Mélanges Asiatiques*, I. 136, 137, Paris, 1825). At this juncture, when the ancient forms and usages might naturally be made to undergo extensive alterations and be invested with a pomp befitting the inauguration of the new hierarchy, we know for certain that Tibet had been brought into immediate communication with teachers of Christianity and also with the ritual system of the Western Church. The Khans had at their court not only Jews, Muhammadans, and Buddhists, but Latin and Nestorian missionaries (see, for example, the graphic account in the *Travels of Marco Polo*, ed. Wright, pp. 167, 168, Lond. 1854; and other evidences in Neander, *Ch. Hist.* VII. 70 sq.): and in the fourteenth century of our era, the arrival of a strange

[1] Lassen, in the third volume of his *Indische Altert.* pp. 441, 442 (Leipzig, 1857), expresses himself in favour of this view. He concludes: '·Ein Einfluss des Buddhismus ist ferner nicht zu verkennen in der bei den christlichen Priestern gebräuchlichen Tonsur, so wie in dem Gebrauche der Glocken, welcher bei den Buddhisten viel älter ist, als bei den Christen und in dem Gebrauche von Rosenkränzen, da es feststeht, dass die Inder bei ihren Gebeten sich der *axamálá* genannten Kränze bedienten.'

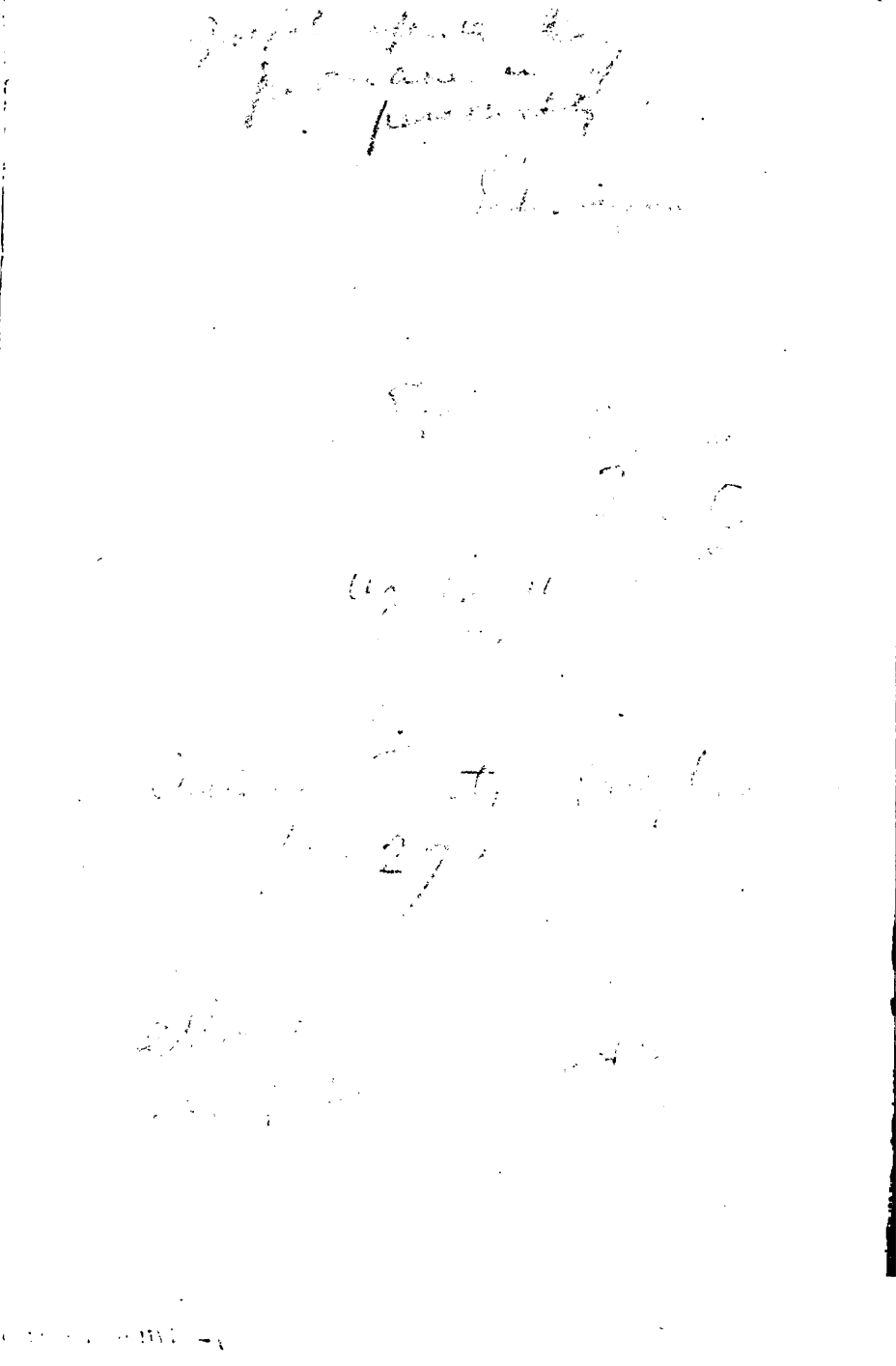
[2] Lama = 'a superior,' from *la* (bla) = 'above.' The more accurate form would be *blama*. Schott, p. 32, n. 2.

APPEN. II. Lama, who came 'from the far west' is said to have actually wrought such changes in the aspect of religious worship in Tibet.[1] Wuttke (II. 559) conjecturing, after Huc and Gabet, that this very Lama was himself a Christian, remarks with reference to him: 'Er änderte an den Grundlehren des Buddhismus nichts, verschärfte aber die Disciplin, änderte den Kultus und führte neue Liturgien ein; und die katholischen Missionäre Huc und Gabet fanden die Ähnlichkeit mit dem katholischen Kult höchst auffallend.' The special processes by which these innovations *might* have been in almost every case effected are admirably sketched by Abel-Rémusat as above, pp. 138, 139: 'A l'époque où les patriarches bouddhistes s'établirent dans le Tibet, les parties de la Tartarie qui avoisinent cette contrée étaient remplies de chrétiens. Les Nestoriens y avaient fondé des métropoles et converti des nations entières. Plus tard les conquêtes des enfans de Tchingkis y appelèrent des étrangers de tous les pays; des Géorgiens, des Arméniens, des Russes, des Français, des musulmans, envoyés par le khalife de Bagdad; des moines catholiques, chargés de missions importantes par le souverain pontife et par St. Louis. Ces derniers portaient avec eux des ornemens d'église, des autels, des reliques, *pour veoir*, dit Joinville, *se ils pourraient attraire* ces gens *à nostre créance*. Ils célébrèrent les cérémonies de la religion devant les princes tartares. Ceux-ci leur donnèrent un asile dans leur tentes, et permirent qu'on élevât des chapelles jusque dans l'enceinte de leurs palais. Un archevêque italien, établi dans la ville impériale par ordre de Clément V., y avait bâti une église, où trois cloches appelaient les fidèles aux offices, et il avait couvert les murailles de peintures représentant des sujets pieux. Chrétiens de Syrie, romains, schismatiques, musulmans, idolâtres, tous vivaient mêlés et confondus à la cour des empereurs mongols, toujours empressés d'accueillir de nouveaux cultes, et même de les adopter, pourvu qu'on n'exigeât de leur part aucune conviction, et surtout qu'on ne leur imposât aucune contrainte. On sait que les Tartares passaient volontiers d'une secte à l'autre, embrassaient aisément la foi, et y renonçaient de

[1] This Lama was the preceptor of Tsong Kaba, who founded the monastery of Khal-dan, near Lhassa, in 1409, and introduced the new ritual, after he had overcome the scruples of the Grand Lama. See Wilson, *Journ. of the As. Soc.* XVI. 263.

même pour retomber dans l'idolâtrie. C'est au milieu de ces variations que fut fondé au Tibet le nouveau siége des patriarches bouddhistes. Doit-on s'étonner qu'intéressés à multiplier le nombre de leurs sectateurs, occupés à donner plus de magnificence au culte, ils se soient approprié quelques usages liturgiques, quelques-unes de ces pompes étrangères qui attiraient la foule; qu'ils aient introduit même quelque chose de ces institutions de l'Occident que les ambassadeurs du khalife et du souverain pontife leur vantaient également, et qui les circonstances les disposaient à imiter? La coïncidence des lieux, celle des époques autorisent cette conjecture, et mille particularités, que je ne puis indiquer ici, la convertiraient en démonstration.'

These observations of Abel-Rémusat, it will be noticed, are all intended to apply especially to points of ritual; and so far we may agree with him in thinking that an imitative people were at such an epoch not unlikely to adopt the usages of western missionaries: but when other writers, following in his footsteps, argue on this ground that *all* external resemblances whatever between the pagan East and Christian West are similarly due to Latin and Nestorian missions of the Middle Ages, they enter, as it seems to me, upon a hopeless undertaking.

END OF VOLUME I.

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